HISTORY

OF

ROBERT THE BRUCE,

KING OF SCOTS.

VOL. FIRST.



From a Coin in the Possession of John Wilson Esqr. of Trancy

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

DURING THE

REIGN OF ROBERT I.

SIRNAMED

THE BRUCE.

By ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. Ed.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME FIRST.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM, EARL OF ANCRAM,

BARON OF JEDBURGH, LORD NEWBOTTLE,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIPS MOST OBEDIENT

VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

ROBERT KERR.

EDINBURGH, }
14th May 1811. }

PREFACE.

THE reign of *ROBERT I.* of Scotland, sirnamed *THE BRUCE*, may justly be accounted the heroic age in Scots History; more especially if we include that short period before his accession, during which the renowned WALLACE so gloriously reclaimed the oppressed liberties of his country, then pusillanimously abandoned by its degraded king, John Baliol, and despaired of by all the nobles of the land.

To introduce the commencement of the important reign which forms the peculiar object of the present historical attempt, it appeared requisite to deduce the connexion of events from the fatal era in 1286, when

the premature death of ALEXANDER III. by interrupting the regular series of descent in the Scots royal family, threatened to have put a a close for ever to the History of Scotland. That preliminary period includes the once highly important controversies, respecting the competition for the vacant throne of the Scots, and the pretended feudal supremacy of the English crown over the kingdom of Scotland, assuredly more ancient than the usurping paramount: But, as forming no portion of the reign of ROBERT, this introductory part of the work has been as much condensed as seemed consistent with its object. Previous to that preliminary deduction, it has likewise been deemed useful and proper to give a short, yet clear, genealogical view of the descent of the BRUCE family, from its earliest appearance in Britain at the Norman conquest of England, down to the patriot king and hero whose reign is attempted to be commemorated in the present work.

Greatly assisted, throughout the whole series of the narrative, by the excellent *Annals of Scotland* of the late celebrated SIR DAVID DALRYMPLE, Bart. Lord Hailes of the Court of Session, as every author must necessarily be who writes on the affairs of Scotland within

the period which he has so ably illustrated; it has unavoidably happened that the arrangement of facts and observations, in the present work, frequently remains with little alteration from those in that masterly performance, the first and best of its kind in any language. Yet that highly judicious and skilful work is in some measure an epitome or text book of Scots history, comprising an extensive period, from the accession of Malcolm III. in 1057, to the demise of David II. in 1371, extending to 315 years; while the present historical attempt confines its direct researches to the reign of ROBERT I. a short, but eventful period of 23 years, 2 months, and 11 days; and, with the utmost care to avoid prolixity, nearly equals the magnitude of the Annals.

In composing the narrative of the reign of ROBERT I. the immediate and peculiar object of attention, the whole original materials employed by the great master of Scots history, Lord Hailes, and every other authentic source of information which could be procured, have been diligently studied; from all which every circumstance, incident, or explanation that merited attention, has been carefully added to the selection of events contained in the Annals. Several very important materials

have been employed with which Lord Hailes was not acquainted; more particularly those which relate to the definitive treaty of peace in 1328, usually called the treaty of Northampton; and likewise respecting several interesting circumstances connected with the latter days of the illustrious ROBERT. For the communication of these documents, the author has very gratefully to acknowledge his high obligations to THOMAS THOMSON, Esq. Depute Clerk Register for Scotland, who liberally favoured him with the perusal of some curious and valuable original records, now in progress towards publication.

In the course of this attempt, much assistance has likewise been derived from a recent work intitled *Caledonia*, which will remain a rare monument of deep research and luminous illustration of Scots antiquities, so long as the History and Topography of Scotland posseses any interest among the learned. To GEORGE CHALMERS, Esq.; the author of that excellent work, the writer of what is now offered to the public has to acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, many important obligations; especially in having revised, corrected, and greatly improved the interesting sketch of the genealogical deduction of the BRUCE family: And

the author feels infinite satisfaction in making this public avowal of his indelible sense of the important aid he has received on all occasions of difficulty from that gentleman.

It will be noticed that many references are made, in the history of the reign of Robert I. to the *Metrical Life and Acts of Robert Bruce* by Barbour: And it may be proper to remark, that these references apply to the edition by Pinkerton, in three volumes crown octavo, London 1790. The quotations, occasionally interspersed as specimens of the language of Scotland in that age, have been rendered greatly more correct than in the edition of Pinkerton, by means of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Scots Language*; Dr Jamieson, the learned and indefatigable author of that excellent work, having carefully collated the M. S. copy of Barbour in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, by which he has corrected innumerable errors in the transcript which was made from that manuscript for Mr Pinkerton

John Barbour, or Barbar, was an eminent Scots poet, historian, and divine, and appears to have been born at Aberdeen about the year 1326, or 1330*. Having reeeived a

* Nicolson, Sc. Hist. Lib. 145.

learned education, he entered into holy orders, and in 1356 was promoted to the Archdeaconry of Aberdeen *. In 1357, he received a passport from Edward III. to continue in force for one year, allowing him to proceed to Oxford with three scholars in his company, and to prosecute his studies in that ancient seminary †. He appears, however, to have remained there only a short time, as in the same year he was one of the commissioners appointed by the bishop of Aberdeen to treat at Edinburgh for the ransom of David II ‡. In 1365, he had a passport from Edward III. to travel through England with six *knights* in his company, perhaps only horsemen, on his way to St Denis in France, near Paris §. He enjoyed a considerable pension from David II. which he procured to be settled upon an hospital in his native city of Aberdeen ||. According to his own account, his metrical history of Robert I. was finished in 1375 * *. He died in 1396 † †, at which time he must have attained the age of 66 or 70.

* Henry, Hist. of Brit. VIII. 249. † Foed. Angl. VI. 31. ‡ Id. ib. § Id. VI. 478. || Tanner, 73. * * Bruce XIII. 700. † † Chart. Aberd.

Born about the close of the reign of the great and good king whose actions he has recorded in vernacular poetry, Barbour may be considered in the light of a contemporary historian; as, in his early manhood, he must have seen and conversed with many persons who were witnesses of and actors in the great national events which he relates. Had he attended to the chronology of these events, his work would have been invaluable; and such as it is, it certainly is the best and fullest record of the times we now possess. Both Fordun in his Scotichronicon, and Wynton in his Original Chronicle of Scotland, the former in Latin prose, the latter in Scots metre, honestly acknowledge that they decline entering largely into the history of ROBERT I. because that portion of Scots history had been already so ably executed by Archdeacon Barbour.

The references in the following work to the *Chronique de Froissart* are to the Paris edition, in four volumes folio bound in two, edited by Sauvage the Royal Historiographer of France. Those references which apply to the Annals of Scotland are to the edition of Edinburgh, 1797, in three volumes octavo. It does not seem necessary to particularize the editions

of other works which have been consulted and are referred to, as that might appear a needless and boastful display of industry and research. The Historical Libraries of Bishop Nicolson have been diligently consulted for indications of authorities; and the public libraries of Edinburgh, more especially the magnificent library of the Faculty of Advocates, and the national *Record Office*, have amply supplied every document and authority that were required.

Upon all subjects of taste, there must necessarily be considerable differences of opinion, especially in regard to the arrangement and mode of execution, in works similar to the present. In digesting the plan of this work, it has appeared most advisable to place every circumstance, quotation, illustration, and reflexion in the text, that could admit of this arrangement, that the attention of readers might experience the smallest possible interruption. Several of the most celebrated modern historians, with whom the author of the present work makes no pretensions of competition, have chosen to follow a very different system, by placing quotations, illustrations, and discussions in notes, or in detached dissertations. Far from presuming

to criticise, or even to vie with the opinions and modes of writing of these deservedly admired authors, it may surely be permitted to every candidate for public favour, to chuse the plan of arrangement, and the mode of execution, which best accord with his own sentiments; whether as influenced by the estimate he may have formed of his own powers, by his opinion of the subject on which he is engaged, or by his judgment and taste respecting the conduct of the work he has undertaken.

With regard to the execution of this work, it becomes not the author to presume on hazarding any remark. In forming and arranging the collection of materials, the leisure and solace of many anxious years have been employed; and in endeavouring to convey a clear, consistent, and well authenticated narration of a highly important and most interesting portion of the history of his country, in plain and unadorned language, he has exerted his utmost diligence, entirely unbiassed by any preconceived theory, and altogether uninfluenced by party spirit: And he now finally, almost with reluctance, consigns his labours to the judgment of the public, with much deference, yet not without hope.

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ROBERT I.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

BRUCE FAMILY.

1\. ROBERT DE BRUS, a Norman Baron, came into England in 1066.

2\. ROBERT, his son, Lord of Annandale, alive in 1138.

3\. ROBERT, his second son, got Annandale, mar. Euphemia, alive in 1171.

4\. ROBERT his son, mar. Isobel, natural dr. of William K. of Scots. Died 1197.

5 WILLIAM, his son, Died 1215.

ADAM, his eldest son, got the English estates. Died 1162.

ADAM, his son, Died 1185.

PETER, his son, Died 1212.

GENEALOGICAL VIEW

OF THE ORIGIN AND DESCENT

OF THE

BRUCE FAMILY.

It is a singular circumstance in the genealogy of this family that, of nine generations in the direct descent, from its original ancestor who first settled in Britain, to the illustrious restorer of Scots independance, both included, eight should have borne the name of Robert. Hence genealogical writers have frequently confounded several of these suc-

cessive individuals with each other, and have egregiously mistaken the true line of filiation; which appears to have been first carefully and satisfactorily investigated by the author of CALEDONIA, a recent work of singularly meritorious and profound research, and containing a vast and valuable fund of accurate and interesting information.

In old writings and provincial nomenclature, Brus, Bruse, Brwyse, Bruyce, Brutz, Braowse, Brois, and perhaps Bryce and Brice, appear to have been all one name differently spelled. Modern France still has Bruyce, Broix, and Breux; which may have the same origin, as the ancestor of our royal BRUCE family certainly came from that country in the eleventh century; and the name was probably derived from the appellation of their original residence or possession in France. In modern provincial dialect, especially on the borders of England and Scotland, the name has been corrupted, at least orally, into Browis, and Brewis. In the Foedera Angliae, the name of the great and good king ROBERT is uniformly *de Brus*, and *the Brwyse* in the M. S. copy of Barbour in the Library of the Advocates at Edinburgh. *Bruce* is the modern form of the name. The ancient noble or territorial

prefix *de*, of, often in old Scots *the*, and sometimes *o'*, is now omitted in Britain, except in a few rare instances; though still preserved in several of the continental states of Europe in various forms, as *de*, *le*, *de la*, *von*, *van*, and *van-der*, all signifying *of*.

I. Among the Norman and French barons and knights who followed the standard of William Duke of Normandy in his conquest of England, in 1066, Robert de Brus appears to have been a distinguished character, and to have liberally shared in the favour and munificence of that conqueror, from whom he obtained very extensive estates in remuneration of his services; insomuch that, at the epoch of the demise of William, this great baron was possessed of no fewer than *forty-three* manors in the east and west ridings of Yorkshire, and *fifty-one* in the north riding; one of which, named Skelton, appears to have long been the principal English residence of his descendants, while the Abbey of Gysburn in Cleveland was the burial place of the family*. A. D. 1066.

* Kelhams Domesday.—Caledonia, I. 569.—Dugd. Baron, I. 447.

A. D. 1066. There is reason to conclude that more than one person of this name carried arms in the Norman conquest of England; as, in the Collectanea of Leland the antiquary, there is a list of part of the leaders who came over with William, in which is the following:—"*Li sires de Breaus e due sens des homez.*" * In this passage *li sires* is obviously in the plural, and probably signifies the lords, or knights rather, of Bruce. Their contingent of men is said to have amounted to two hundred; and it singularly happens that no other contingent is specified in the ancient document recorded by Leland. However this may have been, we only know of Robert de Brus having acquired an establishment in England, as already particularized.

The same person is most erroneously supposed by some writers to have acquired the lordship of Annandale, and other estates in Scotland †; confounding, from identity of names, the father with the son, as will distinctly appear in the next step of this deduction.

2. Robert, his son, having resided at the court of Henry I. of England, where earl

* Leland, Collectanea, I. 202. † Mart. Atchiev. II. 276.

David, afterwards king of Scots, long dwelt, A. D.
a close intimacy appears to have been formed 1066.
between them, both nearly of an age; and
soon after his accession to the throne in 1124, 1124.
David made a grant of the lordship of Annandale to his friend Robert de Brus *.

This second Robert de Brus, the son and successor of the founder of the family in Britain, married Agnes the daughter of Fulk Paynel, with whom he obtained the manor of Carleton, and by whom he had two sons:— 1. Adam, the progenitor of the Bruces of Skelton in England, and, 2. Robert, the ancestor of the Bruces of Annandale in Scotland. He had likewise a daughter Agatha, who was married to Ralph the son of Ribald de Middleham in Yorkshire, receiving from her father, in free marriage, the manor of Dilwick in Hertness.

In 1128, this second Robert Bruce founded 1128.
a monastery of Canons regular at Gysburn, which he endowed with extensive estates and ample grants, Agnes his wife, and Adam his eldest son, giving their assent to the endowment †. He gave also the church of Middle-

* Caledonia, I 569. quoting Chart. Antiqu. Bibl. Harl.

† Dugd. Monast. II. 147. 148.

A. D. 1128. burgh and some lands to the monks of Whitby in Yorkshire, for the purpose of establishing a cell of the abbey of Gysburn at Whitby *. He likewise granted his manors of Appleton and Hornby, with other lands, to the monks of St Mary at York †.

1138. Immediately before the battle of the standard, in 1138, this Robert Bruce, then described as an aged, wise, eloquent, and opulent baron, renounced his allegiance for Annandale to king David I. because he was unable to prevail upon his old friend and benefactor to make peace with England ‡.

As already mentioned, historians have confounded these two last heads of the Bruce family with each other; not considering that he who carried arms at the conquest, in 1066, even if then in very early manhood, must at the least have nearly reached an hundred years of age at the memorable battle of the standard in 1138, seventy-two years afterwards. In full proof that this Robert Bruce could not possibly have been the same person with the Robert of Domesday-book, he describes himself as having grown up from

* Dugd. Monast. I. 413. † Id. I. 388—391.

‡ An. of Scot. i. 86.

youth to old age in the most intimate habits of friendship with David I. against whom he now appeared in arms*. A. D. 1138.

A singular concurrence of circumstances occurred on occasion of the battle of the Standard. Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol, both of them English barons of considerable eminence, and both of them under allegiance to David I. for estates which they had received from his bounty in the kingdom of Scotland, were jointly deputed by the leaders of the English army, previous to the battle, to endeavour to make peace with the Scots king; and, being unsuccessful in their mission, both of them renounced the allegiance which they had sworn to him for their Scots possessions, yet these descended to the posterity of both †. These Anglo-Norman-Scots barons certainly were the direct progenitors of the two rival families of Bruce and Baliol, who contended for the throne of Scotland an hundred and fifty-two years afterwards.

After the battle of the Standard, this second Robert Bruce seems to have entirely confined himself to his paternal estate of Gysburn in

* An. of Sc. I. 86. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1141. Yorkshire, where he died soon afterwards, in 1141 *.

From the *second* Robert Bruce, as has been already mentioned, two great families were descended; one in England, and the other in Scotland. Previously to continuing the genealogical view of the second, or Scots branch of Annandale, it may be proper to give a concise account of the elder, or English branch of Skelton. This has been ascertained by a variety of English records and authorities, which were examined by Sir William Dugdale, and are quoted by him in his two valuable works, the Monasticon Angliae, and the Baronage of England; all of which reciprocally confirm and are confirmed by the deductions in Caledonia †; and distinctly shew that Abercromby has been egregiously mistaken in his endeavours to elucidate this subject ‡.

1161. Adam, the eldest son of the second Robert Bruce, as already mentioned, succeeded to the extensive estates of his father in Yorkshire, and became the progenitor of the English family of Bruce of Skelton. He married Juletta, the daughter of William de

* Caledon. I. 569. † Id. ib. ‡ Mait. Atch. II. 276.

Arches, and widow of R. de Hamvill. He founded the priory of Hoton in Yorkshire, and gave some lands to the knights templars. He died in 1162, and was buried at Gysburn. A. D. 1141. 1162.

This Adam Bruce of Skelton was succeeded by his son and heir, the second Adam Bruce, who died in 1185, leaving a son and heir, Peter, and a daughter Isabel, who married Henry de Percy. 1185.

Peter Bruce, the son and heir of the second Adam, was twice married. The name of his first wife was Joan, by whom he had no male issue. After her death, he married Agnes, the sister of William le Gros, earl of Albemarle, and widow of William de Romara, earl of Lincoln; by whom he had a son and heir, Peter. This first Peter, the son of Adam, died in January 1212, and was buried at Gysburn. 1212.

The *second* Peter Bruce of Skelton was one of the barons who took up arms against king John. He married Helewise, one of the sisters and coheiresses of William de Lancaster, baron of Kendal, by whom he had a son and heir, likewise Peter; and died in or before 1222. 1222.

The *third* Peter Bruce married, in 1237, Hilaria, the daughter of Peter de Mauley, and

A. D. 1241. died in 1241; when he was succeeded by his son and heir, the *fourth* Peter Bruce, who in
1269. 1269 was constable of Scarborough castle, and
1271. died in 1271 without issue. His estates were shared among his four sisters: Agnes, the wife of Walter de Fauconberg; Lucia, the wife of Marmaduke de Tweng; Margaret, the wife of Robert de Ros: and Laderina, the wife of John de Bellew.

Having thus taken a rapid view of the elder English, or Skelton branch of the Bruce family, for the particulars of which we are entirely indebted to the author of Caledonia, we return to the deduction of the younger, or Scots branch of Annandale, as descended from the younger son of the second Robert.

3. Robert Bruce, younger son of the second Robert and called le Meschin, or the cadet, from that circumstance, enjoyed the Scots estate from the surrender of his father, and carried on the male line of the family in Scotland as Lord of Annandale *. It is said that he received the transfer of Annandale from his father immediately before the battle of the Standard †. And it is alleged that he fought in the battle against the English, and became

* Caledonia, I. 569. † An. of Scotl. I. 156.

prisoner to his own father *. This *third* Robert A. D. 1138.
Bruce flourished long in Scotland, during the reigns of David I. Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. The name of his wife is said to have been Euphemia; but of what family does not appear †. He is mentioned as having paid at one time an hundred shillings to the English Exchequer, as escuage for the manor of 1171.
Hert, and the territory of Hertness, in the bishopric of Durham ‡. Some genealogists have ignorantly confounded this third Robert with his father and son, and have never been conscious of his existence, though records still extant point him out distinctly during at least thirty years possession of Annandale; in which period he is found compounding a dispute with the bishop of Glasgow respecting the right of patronage to some churches in Annandale, and conferring gifts on the monks of Holmcultram, which were afterwards confirmed by his son, the fourth Robert §.

4. Robert Bruce his son, the *fourth* successively of the same name, succeeded to the

* Mart. Attch. II. 276. † Caledonia, I. 569. ‡ Madox, Hist. of Exch. I. 629. Dugd. Baron, i. 448-9. § Caledonia, I. 569.

A. D. 1183. lordship of Annandale *. William the Lion gave him to wife in 1183 his natural daughter Isobel. †. On occasion of this marriage, William the Lion gave him the manor of Haltwhistle in Tyndale of Northumberland; after which grant he confirmed to the monks of Arbroath the patronage of the church of Haltwhistle, which had been previously granted to them by king William ‡; and this was afterwards confirmed by Isobel and her second husband Robert de Ros §. This manor of Haltwhistle appears to have continued in possession of the Bruces of Annandale; as, when Robert of Annandale the competitor, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, that king issued writs to several Sheriffs in Scotland for the restitution of his property, and also a writ to to the Bailiff of Tyndale, for the restitution of his lands in that district ‖. This fourth Robert Bruce bestowed the patronage of several churches in Annandale on
1191. the monks of Gysburn **. He died in 1191; and his widow was soon afterwards bestowed in a second marriage, by the king her father, on Robert de Ross.

* Caledonia, I. 569. † Id. ib. Chron. Mailr. 175. ‡ Chart. Arbroath. 66. § Id. 67. ‖ Rot. Scotiae, 31. ** Caledonia, I. 570.

5. William Bruce succeeded in the lordship of Annandale to his father the fourth Robert. He gave to the canons of Gysburn some lands on the south of the chapel of St Hilda at Hartlepool *. In the ninth year of Richard I. A. D. 1197—8, he gave a fine of twenty marks, equal to two hundred pounds of our present money of account, to be exempted from going beyond sea; the king being then in Normandy. From king John, he received a grant empowering him to hold a weekly market on Wednesday, at his manor of Hartlepool †. The name of his wife is not recorded. He died in 1215. A. D. 1191. 1197.

6. Robert, *fifth* of the name, succeeded to his father William. He married Isobel, second daughter of David earl of Huntington, the younger brother of William the Lion king of Scots. Owing to this marriage, which introduced the legitimate royal blood of Scotland into the Bruce family, their son, the sixth Robert Bruce, entered into competition for the crown, which was afterwards acquired by their illustrious great-grand-son. 1215.

* Dugd. Baron. I. 449. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1215. This *fifth* Robert Bruce flourished under Alexander II Between the 6th April 1215 and 6th April 1216, king John confirmed to him the grant which he had made to his father, of a weekly market at Hartlepool, and he farther granted him the privilege of a yearly fair at the same place, to be held on the feast of St Lawrence and the two following days *. This Robert confirmed to the monks of Gysburn the patronages of the churches in Annandale, which had been granted to them by his grandfather the *fourth* Robert Bruce. This charter is witnessed by William de Brus and John de Brus †. He likewise confirmed a grant of four bovates or oxgangs of land, which had been made to the same monks by his relation Matildis ‡. He was one of the Scots magnates or great barons who attended
1221. Alexander II. to York in 1221, and witnessed the endowment which that king made upon
1245. his queen Johanna. §. He died in 1245. His widow survived him about six years, and they were both buried in the church of the abbey of Saltrey near Stilton in Huntingtonshire ||.

* Dugd. Baron, I. 449. Claus. Roll 17th John. † Dugd. Monast. II. 151. ‡ Id. ibid. 152. § Foed. Angl. I. 252. || Caledonia, I. 570.

7. Robert, *sixth* of the name, succeeded to the lordship of Annandale, on the death of his father. In the preceding year he had married Isabel, the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester*. This able and powerful nobleman acted a conspicuous part in all the transactions of Scotland during a long and eventful series of years. After the death of his mother in 1251, he had livery of her lands in England, which extended to ten knights fees †. In 1255 he was appointed by Henry II. Sheriff of Cumberland and governor of the castle of Carlisle ‡. In the same year, being then in the full vigour of life, he was nominated one of the fifteen regents or guardians, to whom the government of Scotland was confided during the minority of Alexander III. and he acted as the leader of a party in the interest of Henry king of England, in opposition to another great faction of the Scots nobles, then arranged under the influence of the chief of the powerful family of Cumyn §. In 1260 he attended the king and queen of Scots on a visit to the court of England. The letter of Henry III. dated 6th

A. D. 1245.
1251.
1255.
1260.

* Caledonia, I. 570. † Dugd.Baron. I. 450. ‡ Id. ib.
§ Caledonia, I. 570.

A. D. 1260. March 1260, to the king of Scots, in favour John de Cheyan, who had been nominated to the bishopric of Glasgow by the pope, is subscribed by the queen of Scotland, by *Robert de Bruys*, and the whole Scots coun-
1264. cil *. In 1264, in conjunction with John Cumyn and John Baliol, the leaders of the opposite Scots faction, he led an army into England to the assistance of Henry III. then
1267. involved in war with his nobles. In 1267, he was again appointed governor of the castle of Carlisle. He was one of the magnates of Scotland in the Convention at Scone, on the
1284. 5th February 1283-4, who declared the right of Margaret, Princess of Norway, grand-daughter of Alexander III. to succeed to the throne.
1285. In 1284 and 1285, he again executed the
1286. office of Sheriff of Cumberland ‡. In 1286, he entered into an association at Turnberry castle with several powerful barons, to adhere to and support the person who should obtain the crown of Scotland in right of blood after the demise of Alexander III §. Near the close of a long life of active interference in all the political transactions of his country,

* Foed. Angl. I. 698. † Caledonia, I. 570. ‡ Dugd. Baron. I. 450. § Symson, Hist. of Stew. 78.

and at the very advanced age of eighty one, A. D.
he engaged in the competition for the vacant 1291.
throne of Scotland against his cousin John Baliol and others. Being unsuccessful, he resigned all his rights and claims to his son Robert, earl of Carrick, and retired to his castle of Lochmaben in Annandale, giving up all connexion with public affairs. On the
13th December 1294, while residing at Loch- 1294.
maben, he granted a charter confirming a convention which had been entered into between the Monks of Melros and those of Holmcultrum about the lands, fishings, and saltworks of Rainpatrick on the Solway; which charter is witnessed by his son Robert de Brus earl of *Karric*, Roger de Kirkpatrick, and others* He died at Lochmaben castle
in Annandale, on Good-friday in 1295, aged 1295.
eighty-five years, and was buried at Gysburn †: If, as asserted, he was 85 at his death in 1295, he must have been born in 1210, five years before the death of his grandfather. He was survived by his second wife Christian.

8. Robert, the *seventh* of this name, his son succeeded to his power and pretensions. He is said to have accompanied St Lewis king of

* Dugd. Monast. V. App. 286. † Dugd. Baron. I 450. Caledonia, I. 571.

A. D. 1295. France, on his last expedition against the infidels *: But he certainly followed the banners of Edward in 1269 into Palestine, and was ever afterwards much regarded by that prince †.

1269.

1271. Soon after his return from the crusade, when twenty-eight years of age, he married Margaret countess of Carrick in her own right; and thereby became earl of Carrick, according to the courtesy of Scotland ‡. The circumstances attending this marriage were singular. Happening to meet Robert while hunting in her domains, the countess became enamoured of him; and, with some appearance of violence, led him to her castle of Turnberry, where they were married a few days afterwards, without the knowledge of the relations of either party, and without the requisite consent of the king of Scots, who immediately seized her castle and estates, till she had atoned by a fine for her feudal delinquency §. The pretended constraint employed to effectuate this marriage was assuredly concerted, with a view to screen the husband from the legal consequences of car-

* Caledonia, I. 571. † Mart. Atch. II. 278. ‡ Id. ib.
§ An. of Scot. I. 198. Scotichron. X. xxix.

rying off an heiress under the wardship of the A. D.
crown. The heiress ran away with him. Si- 1271.
milar contrivances have often been resorted to, even in modern times, for the same purpose of eluding the legal penalties attendant upon carrying off an heiress under tutelage.

This seventh Robert Bruce, though by no means of equal talents with his father and eldest son, acted a conspicuous part in the transactions of his age and country. In the life time of his father, he was appointed in
1278 commissioner to do homage, in the name 1278.
of Alexander III. for the lands held by that sovereign in England*. As earl of Carrick,
he engaged in 1284, along with the other 1284.
Scots nobles, to acknowledge the infant Margaret of Norway as heiress and successor to her grandfather Alexander III†. And he sat in the fatal convention of *Brigham*, now named Birgham, when the safety and inde-
pendence of Scotland were compromised and 1290.
committed to extreme hazard‡. In 1292, 1292.
just before the accession of John Baliol, he lost his wife; and immediately afterwards resigned her earldom of Carrick to his eldest

* Caledon, I. 571. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. ib.

A. D. 1296. son Robert, then only eighteen years of age*. After the death of his father, he, as lord of Annandale, and his son as earl of Carrick, swore fealty to Edward I. as king both of Scotland and England; John Baliol having been previously deposed. After the fatal battle of Dunbar, he retired from public life, and died in 1304; and was buried in the abbey church of Holmcultrum †.

By his wife, Margaret, countess of Carrick, he had *twelve* children; five sons and seven daughters 1. Robert, the eldest son, but not the first born child, afterwards king of Scots. 2. Edward, made Lord of Galloway and earl of Carrick by his brother the king, fell in the battle of Dundalk on the 5th October 1318, leaving no lawful issue. 3. 4. Thomas and Alexander, were taken prisoners in Galloway on the 9th February 1307, and were put to death at Carlisle by order of Edward I. 5 Nigel, or Niel, was taken prisoner at Kildrummie castle in 1306, and put to death at Berwick by order of Edward.

His seven daughters were: 1. Isobel, who was his first born child, married, 1st, Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, Chamberlain of Scot-

* Caledonia, I. 572. † Id. ib.

land, by whom she had Thomas Randolph, who was made earl of Moray and lord of Annandale and Man by his uncle Robert I. She married, 2dly, the earl of Athole; and, 3dly, Alexander Bruce *. 2. Mary married, 1st, Sir Niel Campbell of Lochow, and, 2dly, Sir Alexander Frazer of Cowie, Chamberlain of Scotland †. This lady, in the autumn of 1306, along with the second wife of her brother king Robert and the daughter of his first marriage, was seized at the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain by the earl of Ross, who delivered them to the English. Mary Bruce was ordered by Edward I. to be confined in a cage in the castle of Roxburgh ‡. She continued in this harsh duress till July 1310, when she was exchanged for nine English prisoners §. 3. Christian married, 1st, Gratney earl of Marr, 2dly, Sir Christopher Seton, who was put to death at Dumfries in 1306 by order of Edward I. 3dly, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who afterwards became Governor of Scotland during the minority of David II. This lady was made prisoner by the English in 1306 at Kildrummie, and was ordered to be kept in

A. D. 1296.

* Robertsons Index. p. 13. † Id. p. 19 and 26. ‡ Foed. Angl. II. 1014. § Rot. Scot. 64. 80.

A. D. 1296. safe custody in England *, where she remained till the end of 1314, when she was exchanged for some of the prisoners taken by the Scots at the battle of Bannockburn. 4. Matilda married Hugh Ross †. 5. Elizabeth married Sir William Dishington of Ardross. 6. Margaret married Sir William Carlyle, or Karlo, of Tortherwald ‡. 7. ******* married Sir David de Brechin; and the son of this marriage was executed for concealing a conspiracy against the king his uncle.

9. Robert, eldest son of the earl of Carrick, *eighth* of this name, and eighth lord of Annandale in the Bruce family, and earl of Carrick in right of his mother, succeeded to all the honours, possessions, and claims of his father and grandfather, and immediately afterwards got livery of his fathers lands in England, and seisin of those in Scotland §. In his youth he is said to have been page to Edward I ||.

His actions form the principal object of the following work, and do not therefore require to be noticed in this place. He was born on the 11th July 1274. Became earl of Carrick,

* Foed. Angl. II. 10 14. † Robertsons Index, p. 2. No. 49, 50. ‡ Id. p. 13. § Caledonia. I. 572. || Scala Chron. ap. Leland II. 540.

by the death of his mother and the resignation of his father, in 1292. Lord of Annandale, in 1304, by the death of his father. Ascended the throne of Scotland, in right of his great grandmother, in 1306. And, after a glorious reign of twenty-three years, died in 1329, universally beloved and deeply regretted by his subjects, and long and justly revered by his grateful country. A. D. 1292. 1306. 1329.

Owing to the almost perpetual recurrence of the name of Robert in the Bruce family, with one solitary exception in nine successive generations, during 263 years, historians and genealogists have fallen into strange and absurd confusions, in attempting to deduce the respective descents. Thus, as has been already noticed, the Robert Bruce who acquired the lordship of Annandale, and who fought on the English side in the battle of the Standard, has been ignorantly identified with him who followed William of Normandy to the conquest of England; and the same person has been confounded with his own second son, who established the Bruce family permanently in Scotland.

The three last Roberts, likewise, have been sometimes most unaccountably and almost inexplicably confounded with each other, and

A. D. 1329. partly identified with the immediately preceding Robert, who introduced the royal blood of Scotland into this family. Thus, Buchanan says:—" Robert Bruce, who married Isa-" bella, second daughter of David earl of " Huntington, had a son, Robert, who " married Martha, countess of Carrick, of " whom was born Robert who became King *." In this erroneous genealogy, the competitor, who was lord of Annandale for fifty-one years, is entirely omitted. Even the celebrated Hume, in the earlier editions of his History of England, strangely considered Robert king of Scots as the son, instead of the grandson of the competitor; but the error was corrected in his last editions.

It is unnecessary to enlarge any farther on this subject. The foregoing deduction has been carefully formed upon the most authentic and incontestible authorities, guided by the luminous researches of the two greatest and most successful investigators of Scots antiquities, the authors of the Annals of Scotland and of Caledonia. The latter of these authors, George Chalmers, Esq. has most obligingly condescended to revise, correct, and enlarge

* Rer. Scot. Hist. VIII. vii.

this genealogical deduction, besides some o- A. D. 1329.
ther inestimable assistances already acknowledged in the preface to this work, for which the author is altogether unable to express his sense of gratitude in adequate terms. The subsequent concise genealogical scheme, or tree, will render the steps of the preceding account sufficiently obvious at one glance. In this tree, the immediate descendants of king ROBERT I. are added; who will be more particularly considered after narrating the demise of that great and good prince the *second* FOUNDER of the Scots monarchy, and the FATHER of the liberties and independence of his country.

ERRATA.

As the author resided at a distance from the press, the following errors have escaped notice.

Vol. I.

p. 132. l. 18. *for* statutes, *read* statues.

512. is erroneously numbered, 521.

In pages 512. 513. 514. 517. 518. the date of the year is made 1314. instead of 1315.

Vol. II.

p. 79. marginal date, *for* 1307, *read* 1317.

104. l. 22. for 1817, *read* 1317.

215. — 17. — hooks, — hoops.

223. — 14. — Milton, — Mitton.

232. — *ult.* — Mowat, — Muschet.

353. — 6. contributes, — contributed.

423. — 26 — skin, — shin.

42. marginal date, *for* A. D. 17. read 1327.

440. l. 19. *for* prescribed, *read* preserved.

507. — 22. — Archibald — William.

INTRODUCTION.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND: FROM THE DEMISE OF ALEXANDER III. 16TH MARCH 1286; TO THE ACCESSION OF ROBERT I. 27TH MARCH 1306.

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RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND: FROM THE DEMISE OF ALEXANDER III. 16TH MARCH 1286; TO THE ACCESSION OF ROBERT I. 27TH MARCH 1306.

SECTION I.

From the Demise of Alexander III. 16th March 1286; *to that of his Grandaughter and Successor Margaret, commonly called the Maiden of Norway, in September* 1290.

ALEXANDER, the *Third* of that name, King of Scots, was killed by a fall from horseback, near Kinghorn in Fife, on the 16th March 1286*. In him ended, most unfortunately for his country, the male line of a long race of Kings, who had reigned over the Scots nation, from Fergus the son of Erc, whose A. D. 1286. 16. Mar.

* Ann. of Scotl. I. 201.

A. D. 1286. reign is supposed to have begun about the year 503 of the Christian era *.

This ancient date of the origin of the Scots monarchy cannot be clearly established by contemporary authorities; but it is the most probable account which can now be formed upon the best remaining muniments; and seems as well founded as the nature of the subject will admit, and as completely authenticated as the original establishment of any of the ancient European kingdoms.

In his elegant Latin history of Scotland, following the fabulous compositions of Boece, the celebrated Buchanan removes back the commencement of the kingdom of the Scots to the year 330 before the nativity, under the supposititious reign of a former Fergus; and places the beginning of the reign of Fergus son of Erc in the year of Christ 404: Thus adding 833 years of fable to our authentic history. Lord Hailes, leaving the early history of the Scots to the industry of professed antiquaries, himself the most judicious and most industriously successful investigator of our antiquities, so far as he has carried his researches, has chosen to commence his excellent ANNALS with the the reign of Malcolm III. sirnamed Canmore,

* Innes, Crit. Ess. 691. Caledonia, I. 274.

or Greathead, who ascended the throne of his ancestors in 1057; after the defeat and death of the poetically famous Macbeth, who had assassinated Duncan, the father of Malcolm, and had usurped his throne in the year 1039. A. D. 1286.

The era of the settlement of the Scots, in the north-western parts of Britain, now Cantire, Lorn, and Argyle, and the commencement of the reign of Fergus the son of Erc, their first king, in 503, has been investigated with much skill and sagacity, by Innes, in his Critical Essay on the origin of the Scots: and, following him, by Chalmers, in his recent work, of curious and learned research, denominated CALEDONIA. In these two learned performances, the outlines of the early history of the Scots, down to the year 1057, the commencement of the Annals of Scotland by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, a period of 554 years, will be found very satisfactorily deduced.

Although Duncan, the father of Malcolm III. had succeeded to the throne, in right of his mother Bethoc, or Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II. and probably by a special act of settlement; yet, to the death of Alexander III. no example had ever occurred of female rule over the Scots. Indeed, in the government of a barbarous nation, a fe-

A. D. 1286. male reign seems an inconsistent solecism; as the almost entire occupations of the sovereign then were, to lead the nation in war, to dispense and enforce justice, and to mediate between perpetually contending chieftains, principally by means of the sword. Hence, even minorities of male heirs had been avoided down to the accession of Alexander III. and then first necessarily resorted to, in defect of male heirs of full age.

Notwithstanding the established laws and customs, with regard to the succession, so entirely hostile to female government, on purpose to avoid the dangers inseparable from a disputed succession, the estates of Scotland, in 1284, two years before the melancholy catastrophe of Alexander, had agreed to recognise Margaret, only child, by Eric King of Norway, of Margaret the deceased daughter of Alexander, as successor to the Crown, in the event, which had now occurred, of her grandfather leaving no other legitimate descendants *.

At her accession, Margaret was an infant,
11 April. not exceeding four years of age, and resided with her father in Norway †. Within a month after the demise of Alexander, a Convention of the Estates of Scotland assembled at Scone,

* Foed. Angl. ii. 366. † A. of S. i. 203.

and appointed a regency, consisting of six persons; among whom the kingdom was divided into two great, but unequal districts *. That part of Scotland to the south of the firths of Forth and Clyde was committed to the care of Robert Wisheart Bishop of Glasgow, John Cumyn Lord of Badenoch, and James the hereditary high Stewart of Scotland, and Lord of Renfrew. The whole remaining country be-north the firths was placed under the joint direction of William Fraser Bishop of St Andrews, Duncan M'Duff Earl of Fife, and Alexander Cumyn Earl of Buchan †. A. D. 1286.

About two years afterwards, the Earl of Fife was murdered,‡ and the Earl of Buchan died §. Dissentions arose among the surviving guardians; in consequence of which the Stewart withdrew from the councils of his remaining colleagues, and formed bonds of association with Patrick Earl of Dunbar or March, and his sons, Patrick, John, and Alexander; Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, and his son the Earl of Carrick; Enegusius or Angus M'Donald, and his son Alexander; Richard de Burgh Earl of Ulster; and Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert Earl of Glou- 1288. 25 Sept.

* Ford. XI. i. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. XI. xi. § A. of S. i. 203.

A. D. 1288. cester. The associators engaged mutually to support, adhere to, and take part with each other on all occasions, and against all persons; saving always their respective allegiance to the King of England, and to him who should acquire the kingdom of Scotland by right of blood from the deceased Alexander *.

This measure of private association, for public political purposes, which was common in those days, and continued in various kingdoms of Europe even down to the end of the sixteenth century, seems to have been a revival of the factions which distracted Scotland during the minority of the late King; at which time the direct lineal male descent of the royal family depended upon his single life, as it now again did, under the provisions of a particular limitation, on the precarious existence of his infant grandaughter. And which factions, at the present period, or soon afterwards, assumed distinct objects of pursuit, as the opposing favourers of the two powerful and rival families of Baliol and Bruce, who contended for the vacant throne on the death of Margaret. These rivals, and their several partizans, might look for that event, the demise of the infant Queen, as not

* Dugd. Baron. I. 216. Symps. Hist. of Stew. 78.

improbably soon to happen, and were accord- A. D. 1288.
ingly, or may be supposed to have been, secretly and anxiously preparing to convert that contingency to their respective advantage.

1289. While matters thus tended towards civil war and anarchy in Scotland, Eric King of Norway interposed his good offices, by negociation, to preserve peace in the dominions of his infant daughter*. To this most proper interposition, he was apparently instigated by Edward I. of England, with a view, doubtless, towards the arrangements which soon afterwards took place, for the marriage of the young Queen of Scots with the eldest son of the King of England; and, for influencing Eric to concur in this projected union of the two British crowns, Edward had *lent* him two thousand marks soon after the death of Alexander †.

The three guardians of Scotland who continued to act in concert, Frazer, Wisheart, and Cumyn, associating with themselves Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, afterwards competitor for the crown, proceeded to Salisbury in the character of plenipotentiaries from the interim government of Scotland, where they were met by other plenipotentiaries ap-

* Foed. Angl. II. 416. † Foed. Angl. II. 339.

A. D. 1289. pointed by Edward and Eric, to devise measures for allaying the discontents in Scotland, and for the security of the young Queen *.

Wherefore Salisbury, in the south of England, at such incommodious distance for keeping up a regular intercourse with Scotland and Norway, should have been chosen for the scene of this negociation, no where appears. From the sequel, it may be presumed to have been selected by Edward for the very reasons which ought to have induced the other two parties to chuse a more convenient station. Berwick, or some other place near the coast of the north sea, either in or near Scotland, would have been the proper situation for this congress. But there the Scots plenipotentiaries would have been in security, able to have consulted with the other leading men of their country, and not so much exposed to the arts and influence of Edward. At all events, Fraser became ever afterwards the warm and useful partizan of Edward; now probably won by secret largess and high promises.

By a treaty concluded among the parties met
30. Oct. at Salisbury, it was contracted, I. That Margaret, free from all matrimonial engagements, should be immediately conveyed either to

* Foed. Angl. II. 431, 446.

Scotland or England. II. That if she came *free* to England, Edward would restore her *free* to Scotland on demand; provided that country were previously reduced under good order; and provided that the Scots should not contract her in marriage, without the ordinance, will, and consent of Edward, and the assent of Eric. III. The Scots engaged to establish order in their country, previous to the arrival of their Queen, and to grant security for her safe and free residence. IV. They farther engaged to remove any of the guardians who might be suspected by Eric, and that others should be named in their room, by the good men of Norway and Scotland; subject, in case of difference between these, to the umpirage of commissioners from Edward*. A. D. 1289. 30 Oct.

Through this treaty, Edward acquired an ascendancy in the affairs of Scotland, which ought never to have been conceded; and the bare proposal of which, during the conferences, ought to have opened the eyes of the Scots commissioners to his ambitious views. It is obvious, from the terms of this treaty, if he once got possession of the infant queen, that Scotland, in his opinion, would never have been reduced to sufficiently good order,

* Foed. Angl. II. 447.

A. D. 1289. 30 Oct. to have induced him to part with her. The young queen of an independent nation was subjected, like the daughter of one of his own subject nobles, to his authority, and almost to his wardship, in the most important article of marriage. The removal, likewise, of the guardians, and the appointment of their successors, though nominally confided to the influence of Eric, was actually placed under the controul of Edward, instead of remaining with the estates of Scotland, the only legitimate source for such important delegation of authority.

Though not inserted in the treaty, it seems evident that a marriage was stipulated or agreed upon at this time between Margaret and the heir apparent of Edward; as provision is obviously made to prevent the accomplishment of any other marriage for the young queen. Besides, even previous to the conclusion of this treaty, Edward had procured a dispensation from the Pope, allowing of this very marriage, as the parties were within the then forbidden degrees of consanguinity*. The peculiar anxiety evinced by Edward, in the articles of this treaty, to keep the young queen free from matrimonial engagements,

* Foed. Angl. II. 450.

proceeded from the principles of the canon law in favour of affiances, by which any future marriage, in contradiction to such precontracts, were vitiated. A. D. 1289.

Within less than a year after the conclusion of the treaty of Salisbury, a letter was written to Edward from a convention of the estates of Scotland, warmly approving of this projected marriage. The convention which authorised this letter, besides the four guardians, consisted of ten bishops, twenty-three abbots, eleven priors, twelve earls, including the Earl of Carrick, and forty-eight barons, including the Lord of Annandale *. No commissioners appear to have sat in this convention from the commons or communities of buroughs; the representatives of which, though soon afterwards mentioned among the constituent members of the Scots legislature, do not seem to have been convened until an after period, except, perhaps, when a supply was required. 1290.

The Scots convention wrote at the same time to Eric, urging him to send his daughter to England, obviously with a view towards this marriage, and even obliquely hinting at altering the succession to their crown, in case of his refusal †. The same request was strong-

* Foed. Angl. II. 472. † Id. ib. 473.

A. D. 1290. ly urged to Eric by king Edward; and his ambassadors were instructed to facilitate the accomplishment of his desire, by the liberal distribution of English bribes and pensions among the Norwegian counsellors *.

18 July. In pursuance of this judicious plan for the aggrandizement of the English crown, commissioners from Edward and the Scots convention concluded a treaty at Birgham on Tweed, having this projected marriage for its basis. † Though this grand object was never accomplished, a view may be taken of the provisions of this treaty, as showing the ideas then entertained respecting a proposed federative UNION between England and Scotland; an event which took place in happier times, but more than four hundred years afterwards, and upon more liberal principles of reciprocity. The articles of this treaty of Birgham are likewise interesting, as they develope the slightly concealed intentions of Edward to arrogate a feudal supremacy in the crown of England over that of Scotland; and even evince a resolution to advance a claim of direct dominion. By the prosecution of these unfounded pretensions, he afterwards reduced Scotland to a most lamentable state of misery, and occasioned much injury to his own do-

* A. of S. I. 207. † Foed. Angl. II. 482.

minions of England and Ireland. Were not the records of these transactions perfectly full and precise, it could hardly be conceived that he should have ventured to propose, or that the Scots commissioners could have listened to, some of the stipulations and reservations which were actually admitted among the articles of this treaty. A. D. 1290. 18 July.

Besides these reasons for reporting the sub stance of the negociations at Birgham, they contribute towards a consecutive, though condensed, view of the first highly important and continued political discussion between the long rival kingdoms, of which authentic record supplies any distinct account. The circumstances of these negociations evince either a most egregious want of political wisdom, or an entire abandonment of patriotic principles, on the part of the Scots commissioners. They were obviously either incapable of conducting the important discussions in which they were engaged, or they were sold to the court of England; and the only possible palliation for their conduct is, that many of the leading Scots nobles were at the same time subjects of England, and possessed ample inheritances in that country; a circumstance of little moment in the modern national establishments, but then of the utmost import-

A. D. 1290. 18 July. ance, when territorial property, and its consequent vassalage, constituted the military power of the state.

Provisions of the Treaty of Birgham.

I. The rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to remain for ever entire and inviolable, *saving* the rights of the king of England, and of all others, which did, or ought to belong to him or them before this treaty.

II. Failing Queen Margaret and Prince Edward, or either of them, without issue, the kingdom of Scotland was to return to the nearest heir, wholly, freely, absolutely, and without subjection; so that thereby nothing should accrue to, or decrease from, the king of England, or his heirs, or any one else.

III. If Margaret survived her intended husband, she was to be restored to Scotland, free from matrimonial engagements.

IV. Secured an adequate jointure to Margaret from England, in the event of surviving her husband.

V. The kingdom of Scotland was always to remain separate, free, and without subjection, with a *salvo*, as in the first article.

VI. Chapters of churches were not to be constrained to go out of Scotland, for leave

to elect or otherwise; neither those whom they might elect. A. D. 1290. 18 July.

VII. Crown vassals, widows, orphans, and others, not compellable to go out of Scotland for homage, fealty, or relief.

VIII. No native of Scotland to be obliged, in any case, to answer in law out of the kingdom.

IX. The great seal, used since the demise of Alexander, to be continued till the coronation of Margaret; after which a new seal to be made, with the usual arms, and her name only; and to remain in custody of the chancellor of Scotland, who was to be a native, and to reside there.

X. Relicts, charters, grants, and other muniments relative to the royal dignity of Scotland, to be deposited in safe custody until the queen have living issue.

XI. No encumbrance, alienation, or obligation, shall be created, in matters regarding the royal dignity of Scotland, until the queen arrive in her dominions and have living issue.

XII. The heirs of the nobility, becoming wards of the crown, shall not be disparaged in marriage.

XIII. No parliament shall be held beyond the bounds of Scotland.

A. D. 1290. 18 July. XIV. No tallage, aid, or extraordinary exaction, to be imposed, nor any levies of men to be ordered, except for the interests of the realm, or in cases where such were wont to be demanded.

On the fatal *salvo* contained in the first and fifth articles, and the pretensions artfully inserted into the second, the foundations were laid for a claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, which was unjustly urged in the sequel; while every provision for the security of the country was wantonly trampled under the power of Edward. There can be no hesitation in asserting, that any negociator, now acting for an independent kingdom, who should even admit the discussion, much more the insertion, of articles in a treaty, clogged with such degrading reservations as occur in this of Birgham, would be deservedly impeached of treason.

28 Aug. Under pretence of authority from this treaty, but which it did not in the slightest degree warrant, Edward issued a commission to the bishop of Durham, to act as lieutenant of Scotland, in the names of the queen and her affianced husband*. By this mea-

* Foed. Angl. II. 487.

sure of notorious usurpation, he acquired a complete ascendancy in the councils of the guardians, in concert with whom the bishop was directed to act. He then demanded possession of all the strong-holds in the kingdom; or, in other words, that Scotland should be at once surrendered to his authority: but this was refused *. A. D. 1290. 28 Aug.

This most ingeniously devised political scheme for uniting the whole island of Britain into one monarchy, which had hitherto proceeded with so much facility, was unexpectedly and entirely overthrown. Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Weems were deputed as commissioners from Scotland to Norway, to receive the young queen from her father, and to conduct her with all due honour into her own dominions †. She fell sick during the voyage; and, being landed in Orkney, died there, about the end of September, in the eighth year of her age ‡. Scarcely can there be found, Sept. in the history of western Europe, an instance of such fatal consequences attendant on the death of any individual, as flowed from that of this infant queen. By this event, the pleasing

* Foed. Angl. II. 488. † Buchan. I. 132.
‡ A. of S. I. 214. M. Westm. 414.

A. D. 1290. Sept.

prospects of perpetual peace and union between the British kingdoms were instantly dissipated; and a long series of destructive wars supervened, to the great and lasting injury of both, and which reduced Scotland to extreme distress, and almost to utter ruin.

No blame can attach to Edward for the general principles of this great political project; which was in itself laudable, and worthy of the most honourable ambition. But the advantages of which he availed himself, proceeding from the state of disunion among the Scots nobles, to re-assert an absurd and groundless claim of feudal supremacy, which, originally extorted, had been afterwards completely and magnanimously abandoned, was mean and insidious; and the measures, which he afterwards pursued, to enforce and extend that claim, were unprincipled, unjust, and tyrannical. Although a gallant warrior, and an enlightened statesman; in many parts of his conduct, in prosecution of this grand object of ambition, Edward displayed the paultry tricks of a pettyfogger, instead of the magnanimous efforts of sound political wisdom; and, especially in his treatment of the heroic Wallace, and the brothers and chief adherents of the illustrious Bruce, he appears to have been

actuated by the vindictive spirit of a dissappointed tyrant. Had he devoted himself entirely to this great object, conducting himself towards the Scots with liberal and judicious moderation, and employing prudently decisive measures of precaution against reverses, he could hardly have failed in his attempt to consolidate Scotland into an indissoluble union with his hereditary kingdom of England, to the great advantage of both. But all his arts and violence ultimately and completely failed of success: by grasping at too much, and with too high a hand, he lost the whole. A D. 1290. Sept.

SECTION II.

From the Demise of Margaret Queen of Scots, in September 1290, *to the Coronation of John Baliol,* 30*th November* 1292; *including a succinct Account of the Competition for the Crown.*

In consequence of the premature death of Margaret, the succession to the crown of Scotland was thrown open, in circumstances which had never occurred before, and which had not

A. D. 1290. Sept. been provided for by the legislature. The probability of this emergency, dependant upon the precarious life of a single infant, must have been foreseen at the period when the Scots estates made the settlement of the crown on Margaret. But, at that time, the great council of Scotland appears to have been disinclined to risk a decision upon the rival pretensions of the Baliol and Bruce families, although these must have been obvious.

That the principal claimants, who came forwards on the present occasion, had this object in view, and were secretly preparing to assert their respective pretensions, by forming alliances and associations among the nobility, cannot be doubted. We have already had occasion to notice some steps of this nature, by the aged lord of Annandale and his adherents, which apparently were links in an extensive chain of association for this grand object: and, were we possessed of all the records of the times, it is highly probable that a multitude of similar associating bonds, among the principal connexions of the two leading competitors, would enable us to arrange all the great feudal chieftains of Scotland under the respective banners of those rival families.

Had the competition for the crown occurred during the minority of Alexander III.

before the new rule was established for the succession of Margaret, which indeed may be considered as a strong deviation from the former custom, it would have then been between Dervorgil, the *daughter* of Margaret, *eldest* daughter of David Earl of Huntington, and Robert Bruce, *son* of Isobel, *second* daughter of Earl David. In the then state of law, or precedent rather, when no female had ever been raised to the throne, though it had once before gone to the son of a daughter of a preceding king, it seems necessary to suppose that Bruce must have been preferred.

A. D. 1290. Sept.

Even the accession of Alexander III. appears to have been a deviation from the ancient usage of regal inheritance in Scotland; as no instance had before occurred of a minor ascending the throne: And, although utterly repugnant to every modern idea, the example of Scots history seems to warrant an opinion that Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, then the nearest male relation to royalty of full age, held at least a colourable appearance of a claim to the crown, in preference to the infant prince on whose brows it was placed; and some tendency towards an opposition to the elevation of Alexander, on the plea of minority, remains in history *. The remembrance,

* Ford. x. i.

A. D. 1290. Sept.

however, of the distractions which had flowed from that ancient and irregular mode of succession; the steady precedent of regular lineal descent, which had continued unbroken for a long series of years; and the contemplation of the direct substitution which prevailed in all the other European kingdoms, may all have induced the Scots nobles to prefer the succession of a minor, to avert a repetition of the evils which had been produced by the more ancient custom of Scotland. The successions of Duncan, Alexander, and Margaret, seem all to have taken place through special previous acts of settlement.

If there had not been a special settlement of the crown on Margaret, she probably would have been passed over, at the demise of her grand-father, and the competition would have then opened between Baliol and Bruce. Had she not existed, or if she had died before her grandfather, the competition would have remained between these rivals immediately on the demise of Alexander. In either of these two suppositions, there are strong grounds to presume that Bruce might have been preferred; since Dervorgil, the mother of Baliol, would certainly have been excluded, before the settlement of the crown on Margaret had introduced a new rule of succession.

On the present actual occasion, however, as Baliol stood very nearly in the same predicament which Bruce would have formerly occupied, with the advantage of being the male representative of the *eldest* daughter, while Bruce only represented the *second*; and as the recent substitution of Margaret had altered the former law or precedent, and had even opened the way to the crown for his mother Dervorgil had she been alive, Baliol was certainly now preferable in the existing competition. All this, however, proceeds on the supposition of a free, unbiassed, and uncontroled exercise of deliberation and decision by the Scots Estates; which, unhappily for themselves and their country, had been placed beyond their reach by the arts and influence of the king of England.

A. D. 1290. Sept.

From the facility with which Edward had procured the admission of his fatal *salvo*, it may be presumed that the chiefs of the Baliol and Bruce families had endeavoured to secure his favour, in prospect of the event which had now occurred; and that they, from that motive, servilely acquiesced in his preparatory measures for acquiring the feudal superiority over Scotland. Perhaps, craftily flattered by secret insinuations of his favourable

A. D. 1290. Sept. intentions towards both; these rival nobles the more readily agreed to admit of his groundless pretensions, and influenced their numerous and powerful friends in the scandalous abandonment of Scots honour and independance. Both Baliol and Bruce were subjects of England, in which country both held ample possessions; which circumstance may be admitted as some alleviation of their common want of patriotism, their joint deriliction of the independance of Scotland, and their mutual acquiescence in the degradation of the crown, which both were ambitious to wear.

At the momentous period of the death of Margaret, Baliol appears to have resided in England*. But he had a firm partizan in the Scots regency, Frazer, bishop of St Andrews †. His adherents, likewise, among the Scots nobility, were numerous and formidable, especially in the family of Cumyn, then one of the most powerful in Scotland; insomuch that, a little more than thirty years before, there are said to have been above thirty knights of that name, besides two Earls and one great Baron ‡.

* A. of S. I. 215. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. I. 181.

Immediately on the news of the Queens death, Bruce, now eighty years of age, appeared with a considerable military force at Perth, then the chief city in Scotland, and in the near neighbourhood of Scone, the usual place of investiture of the Scots kings. But as he was not joined by the associates of his family, he affected to conceal the purposes of his armament, and took no decisive steps to secure his own succession *. The Earls of Mar and Athol, indeed, probably his friends, assembled their military followers. Parties were formed among the nobles, according as they favoured the pretensions of the competitors; and all the complicated miseries of civil war seemed fast approaching to desolate the land †. Yet all remained aloof and indecisive, as if hesitating to incur the odious responsibility of involving the country in blood, by any decided act of hostility.

A. D. 1290. Sept.

While the death of Margaret was only an unascertained rumour, the bishop of St Andrews, who was entirely devoted to the views and interests of Edward, sent him the following letter ‡: "The kingdom is in commo-"tion, and the people in despair. We shall

7 Oct.

* Foed. Angl. II. 1090. † A. of S. I. 215.

‡ Foed. Angl. II. 1091.

A. D. 1290. 7 Oct. "be involved in blood, unless the Almighty "provide an instant remedy by your prudent "interposition. Should Lord John de Baliol "present himself to you, I advise you so to "treat with him, that in any event, your ho- "nour and interest may be preserved.— "Should the Queen die, I intreat your high- "ness to approach the borders, to comfort the "people of Scotland, and to prevent the effu- "sion of blood; that the faithful of the land "may be enabled to preserve their *oath* invio- "late, and to prefer him to be king, who "ought of right to inherit, provided he be "willing to follow your council."

Fraser must have been well acquainted with the measures which Edward would adopt for preserving his honour and interest, or rather for accomplishing his ambitious project of subjugating Scotland, in which the bishop was obviously an accomplice. The oath mentioned in the letter is no where explained; but must allude to some secret engagement, well known to the king and bishop, which a part of the leading Scots nobles had come under, to submit to the award of Edward, in the event of a disputed accession: And, from the tenor of this letter, Fraser evidently intended that considerably more than the office

of umpire should accrue to Edward on this occasion; as he indicates that the successful candidate, prejudged in the letter itself, should become dependant on the king of England. Fraser had evidently sold himself and his country, so far as his influence and exertions could extend, to the King of England. We may not have another opportunity of mentioning this degenerate Scotsman. He died in France in 1297; and was succeeded by William de Lamberton, or Lambyrton, parson of Campsie, and chancellor of the diocese of Glasgow; who acted a more patriotic part in the subsequent troubles of Scotland.

A. D. 1290. 7 Oct.

Edward was too sagacious not to discern the full importance of the advice offered by Fraser: But the illness, death, and funeral of his beloved Queen, Eleanor, interrupted for sometime the prosecution of his ambitious schemes*. Yet so judiciously had he concerted all his measures, and so faithfully was he served by his recreant Scots adherents, that no prejudice was sustained in the foul conspiracy for subverting the independance of Scotland; though the execution of his plans was delayed from the autumn of 1290 to the following summer.

* A. of S. I. 217.

A. D. 1290. How much soever the reigns of government in Scotland must necessarily have been relaxed, by the total want of any legal head, excepting the guardians, who exercised a precarious authority, without the sanctioning name of any sovereign, no sword appears to have been drawn, nor any overt act to have been hazarded, for taking possession of the vacant throne. All seem to have been appalled at the new and arduous situation of public affairs; all appeared to dread the approach of civil war; and all stood in awe of Edward, who was ready to take advantage of their intestine divisions, and to overwhelm their divided country.

An opinion has prevailed among historians near these times, though no record remains for its confirmation, That, perplexed with the opposing pretensions of the competitors, and dreading the impending horrors of civil war, the nobles of Scotland had agreed to refer the decision in the disputed succession to Edward as umpire, and had invited him to interpone his good offices, in that capacity, in the important crisis of their country*. The oath mentioned by Fraser may refer to some such agreement, paction, or association, con-

* Ford. XI. iii. W. Hemingf. I. 30.

nected with this presumed reference. The reference, indeed, must have been made, for it was acted upon, and Edward became umpire of the succession. A. D. 1290.

Notwithstanding the delay already mentioned, Edward was not the less resolved to avail himself of the fortunate situation of circumstances, unjustly to revive a groundless and formally renounced pretension of feudal supremacy over Scotland, under the specious pretext of regulating the succession to its vacant throne. Some considerable time after the 1291. obsequies of his consort, being at leisure to prosecute his plan of usurpation, he issued a requisition for the prelates and nobles of Scotland to meet him at Norham on Tweed, within the territories of England *; and to corroborate the execution of his measures, he at the sametime issued a mandate, for the whole military array of the counties of York, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, to assemble in arms at Norham, on the 3d of June, considerably subsequent to the appointed convention of the Scots, that they might be ready, if necessary, to compel compliance with his intended demands †.

* Foed. Angl. II. 525. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1291. Had the Scots guardians performed their duty to their country at this important period, they ought to have convened the Estates on an earlier day than that appointed by Edward, on purpose to have remonstrated against the assumption of a right, by a foreign prince, to call a meeting of the legislative body of a free and independant nation; and, if deemed proper, to employ the umpirage of the King of England for settling the succession, plenipotentiaries ought to have been sent to negotiate an equitable arrangement for the exercise of the proposed umpirage, without compromising the sacred rights of their country. In farther prosecution of their duty, they ought to have been aware of the intended array of the English at Norham; and should have counteracted its obviously hostile purpose, by assembling the military force of the Scots border counties near one of their frontier castles. But the whole Scots nation seems to have been fascinated and paralized by the arts of Edward, and through its own disunion.

10 May. In pursuance of the requisition from Edward, the nobility and dignified clergy of Scotland assembled at Norham, in an evil hour for themselves and their unhappy coun-

try. At this meeting, Edward first clearly opened his ambitious purposes of usurpation, not obscurely implied before in the Birgham treaty, but now boldly avowed. In his name and presence, Roger le Brabazon, justiciary of England, opened the business, by informing the convention, "That the King of England had maturely considered the extreme difficulties in which Scotland was involved, by the demise of Alexander, and the extinction of his offspring: That his affection for the Scots nation in general, and to every individual in Scotland, was sincere, as he was interested in their welfare: That he had assembled them on purpose to dispense justice to all the competitors, and to preserve and establish the tranquillity of the kingdom: That he had undertaken a long journey, to do justice to all concerned, in the character of SUPERIOR and LORD PARAMONT of the kingdom of Scotland, without encroaching on the rights of any: And, That effectually to accomplish these purposes, he required their hearty recognition of his *title* as Lord Paramont, and declared his readiness to use their advice in the settlement of the nation *." A. D. 1291. 10 May.

* Foed. Angl. II. 543.

A. D. 1291. 10 May. Astonished and confounded by this arrogation of feudal superiority, the assembled Scots were sometime silent and motionless. After a considerable pause, some person assumed courage to say, that no answer could be given by the nation on this important subject, while the throne was vacant. The King of England passionately exclaimed, "By holy Edward, whose crown I wear, I will vindicate "my just rights, or perish *." The Scots now required delay, that they might consult together on the important subject, and have time to inform the absent members of the nature of this demand. Edward allowed them only the delay of one night †.

11 May. Next day, the same proposition being urged for their acquiescence, the Scots renewed their request for delay, and the king now consented to adjourn proceedings for three weeks ‡. By that time he knew that his armed northern barons would be at hand to support his unjust assumptions; and during the interval, every engine of policy would be employed to cajole, to influence, and to intimidate the refractory members of the Scots convention.
31 May. During the recess, Edward execut-

* Walsingh. 56. Hemingf. I. 33. † Foed. Angl. II. 543.
‡ Foed. Angl. II. 544.

ed a formal declaration, that the meeting which he had now convened at Norham, should not be drawn into precedent*. He thus acknowledged that he had deviated in this instance from the stipulations of Birgham; yet he continued in the sequel to disregard all the most important articles of that treaty. A. D. 1296. 31 May.

The adjourned meeting took place in the haugh or vale of Holywell, close by Upsettlington, on the Scots side of the Tweed, opposite Norham, and near what is now called Ladykirk †. Here the claim of Edward, to be recognised as Lord Paramont, was again urged; of which he arrogated himself to be the sole judge: And alledging that no arguments or evidences had been adduced to the contrary, he declared his resolution, in that character, to determine in the competition for the vacant throne ‡. 2 June.

Eight persons were present of those who had advanced claims to the throne; and all these, with the aged Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, at their head, definitively, expressly, publicly, and openly acknowledged Ed-

* Foed. Angl. II. 528. † Id. II. 549.
‡ Id. II. 544.

A. D. 1296. 2 June. ward as Lord Paramont, and declared their consent to receive judgment from him in that capacity. At the request of Sir Thomas Randolph, John Baliol, who was absent, having mistaken the day of meeting, was allowed to answer on the morrow *.

3 June. On the following day, accordingly, John Baliol compeared; and, after an affected pause, assented like the other competitors †. Immediately after this ample recognition of his paramouncy, a formal protest was recorded in the name of Edward: "That, although he now only asserted his *superiority*, with the intention of giving judgement, he meant not to relinquish his right of *property* in the kingdom of Scotland, to be asserted when convenient ‡."

On the same day all the ten competitors, who had then advanced claims, executed a formal acknowledgement of the sovereign seigniory of Edward over Scotland, and of his right in that character, to determine upon their several pretensions, and bound themselves to submit to his award ||.

4 June. On the day following these singular and important transactions, the Scots agreed that

* Foed. Angl. II. 545. † Id. II. 549.
‡ Id. II. 551. || Id. II. 553.

seisin, livery, or symbolical feudal possession A. D. 1291.
of Scotland and its fortresses should be delivered to Edward; that he might, in a legal form, hold the subject submitted for his decision, and be enabled to deliver it over in the same symbolical manner to the successful competitor*. Accordingly, some days afterwards, the guardians made a formal surrender of the kingdom, in the manner agreed upon, and those having custody of the fortresses did the same†. Edward immediately confided the subordinate custody of the kingdom to the guardians; who, by his orders, appointed an Englishman, Allan bishop of Caithness, to the office of chancellor of Scotland ‡. Thus, in the first exercise of his usurped authority, he acted in contradiction to one of the stipulations of the Birgham treaty, which provided that the chancellor of Scotland should always be a resident native. A few days afterwards he joined another Englishman, Brian Fitzallan, in commission with the four regents; and on the same day all the regents or guardians, all the competitors, and many of the principal Scots nobles swore fealty to him §. There is

4 June.

11 June.

15 June.

* Foed. Angl. II. 529. † Id. II. 554. ‡ Id. II. 557.
§ Id. II. 559.

A. D. 1291. 15 June. a singular difference in the form of oath on this occasion between the nobles and the prelates: The nobility swore with their hands on the Evangile, the bishops only in its presence.

To prepare for deciding in the disputed succession, a commission was appointed in the nature of arbitrators, but without the power of giving judgment, to examine into the whole cause deliberately, and to report upon it to Edward. Of these Baliol and Cumyn conjunctly named forty; an equal number was appointed by Bruce; and Edward added twenty-eight, who, in the nature of umpires, were only to be called upon in the event of difference in opinion among the eighty Scots commissioners *.

All these preliminaries being adjusted so favourably for the ambitious purposes of Edward, and so degrading to the Scots, the assembly was adjourned to the second of August †. Eager to establish the record of his newly acquired prerogatives over the independence of Scotland, he ordered copies of all these proceedings to be engrossed into the chronicles of all the English monasteries ‡. He likewise decreed, that *breves*, though da-

* Foed. Angl. II. 556. † Id. II. 559. ‡ Hemingf. I. 36.

ted in Scotland, should be received in the English court of Kings-bench *. This was an absolute identifying of Scotland as a province of England, and a direct contravention of one of the Birgham articles. To sum up all, universal homage was required from the whole Scots nation, under severe penalties †. A. D. 1291. 15 June.

Besides Baliol and Bruce, ten other competitors exhibited their respective claims to the crown of Scotland, before the adjourned meeting of the commissioners ‡. Hitherto, to avoid complicating the nature of the competition, no notice has been taken of any claimants, except Baliol and Bruce; and as the pretensions of these ten were slightly founded, they shall be dismissed with very concise notices of their respective pretensions §. 3 Aug.

1. Florence Earl of Holland, claimed as great-grandson of Ada, daughter of Henry Prince of Scotland, and sister of William the Lyon, King of Scots.

2. Robert de Pinkeny; as great-grandson of Marjory, another daughter of Prince Henry.

* Foed. Angl. II. 533. † Id II. 573.

‡ Id. II. ii, 574.--577. § A. of S. I. 229.

A. D. 1291. 3 Aug.

3. William de Ros; as great-grandson of Isobella, said to have been the eldest daughter of William the Lyon.

4. Patrick Earl of March; as great-grandson of Ilda or Ada, a daughter of William King of Scots.

5. William de Vesci; as great-grandson of Marjory, a daughter of William King of Scots.

6. Patrick Gallythly; as son of Henry Gallythly, who he alledged was the lawful son of William King of Scots.

7. Nicholas de Soulis; as grandson of Marjory daughter of Alexander II. and wife of Alan Durward.

8. Roger de Mandeville; as descended from Aufrica, a daughter of William King of Scots.

9. John Cumyn Lord of Badenoch; as great-grandson of Donald Bane, sometime king of Scots.

10. Eric King of Norway; as heir to his deceased daughter Margaret*.

The claims of all these competitors being frivolous were soon renounced, withdrawn, or set aside; and the right to the throne obviously remained in the descendants of David

* Torf. Hist. Norv. IV. 372.—Walsingh. 59.

Earl of Huntington, the younger brother of William King of Scots; all the lawful descendants of William being assuredly extinct*. A. D. 1291. 3 Aug.

Besides a son, who died without issue, David left three daughters. Margaret, the eldest of these, married Alan Lord of Galloway. Isabella, the second, married Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale. Ada, the youngest, married Henry de Hastings Lord of Abergavenny in England. From these ladies, the three following competitors derived their claims, which they respectively exhibited to the commissioners †.

11. John de Baliol Lord of Galloway; as the son of Dervorgil, daughter of Margaret, eldest daughter of Earl David.

12. Robert de Bruce Lord of Annandale; as the son of Isabella, second daughter of David, and as being thereby one degree nearer in blood than Baliol, or the *male* heir nearest in blood to the crown.

13. John de Hastings; as grandson of Ada, the youngest daughter of Earl David, insisted that the kingdom was divisible, like other inheritances falling to co-heiresses, or their

* A. of S. I. 233. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1291. 3 Aug. representatives, and demanded that a third part should be assigned to him.

To give a clear idea of the pretensions of the three last claimants, a table of the descent of the Scots royal family is subjoined.

1292. Having heard parties at great length, the Scots commissioners made a report on the cause to Edward, who ordered the claims of Baliol and Bruce to be first decided upon, reserving those of the other competitors. Diversity of opinion arising among the Scots commissioners, the English assessors were called in to assist them in forming a judgment.
2 June. But, they being unable to produce unanimity, the farther aid of the English parliament was required. Accordingly the English parlia-
15 Oct. ment was ordered to assemble at Berwick; and in its presence, and that of the whole commissioners of both nations, the cause was solemnly argued before the king*.

In reply to queries propounded by Edward, the united assembly fixed certain rules of procedure and decision, the most important of which was: "That if no distinct law or usage existed in Scotland or England applicable to the case, it was competent for, and

* A. of S. I. 235.

[*To face p.* 42. *Vol. I.*]

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2.	3.
ISABELLA married Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale.	ADA married Henry de Hastings, Ld. of Abergavenny.
ROBERT DE BRUCE, Lord of Annandale, *Competitor.*	—— DE HASTINGS, her son.
ROBERT DE BRUCE, Earl of Carrick.	JOHN DE HASTINGS, her grandson, *Competitor.*
ROBERT I. King of Scots.	

DAVID II. King of Scots. No issue.	MARJORY married Walter High Stewart of Scotland.
	ROBERT II. King of Scots. Issue.

"incumbent on, the king to promulgate a "new law for the occasion *." A. D. 1292.

After hearing various arguments on the parts of Baliol and Bruce, Edward pronounced an interim decree, "That Bruce "should take nothing in the competition a-"gainst Baliol †." This deliverance, or interlocutory judgment, was clearly decisive of the whole case at issue; which, indeed, from Frazers' letter, two years before this, seems to have been prejudged before its commencement. 6 Nov.

The only other interim point for consideration was respecting the divisibility of the inheritance, as demanded by Hastings. And, having lost all hope of success in his claim for the whole, through the previous decree, Bruce now likewise demanded this division of the kingdom, reserving the name and dignity of king to Baliol ‡.

At length the final hearing took place, in the hall of the castle of Berwick. Eight of the competitors withdrew their claims; and two, from absence, were held to have resigned their pretensions. Edward then pronounced his final judgment,—"That the "kingdom of Scotland was an indivisible in- 17 Nov.

* Foed. Angl. II. 528. † Id. ib. 587. ‡ Id. ib. 588.

A. D. 1292. 17 Nov. "heritance, and belonged to John de Baliol "as rightful heir." But he declared, that this judgment should not impair his own right to the property or direct dominion of Scotland, as a fief of his English crown*. Then addressing his discourse to John the new king, he strictly charged him to execute justice among the people now confided to his government, otherwise threatening to interpose his own paramount authority†.

19 Nov. He next commanded the regents of Scotland and the custodiars of its fortresses, to give livery or seisine to John ‡. And ordered the great seal which had been used by the guardians to be broken, and its fragments to be deposited in the English treasury, in perpetual memorial of the pretended superiority of his crown of England over the kingdom of Scotland §. And, to sum up the whole, John
20 Nov. was made to swear fealty to Edward as his liege lord**.

Thus ended the most singular transaction that ever was recorded in the annals of history, and which is altogether without a parallel in the entire series of human events. An

* Foed. Angl. II. 589. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. II. 590. § Id. II. 591. ** Id. II. 592.

independent nation submitted the decision of a disputed succession to its throne to the judgment of the king of another and hostile nation; and the whole matter at issue was argued and decided upon with all the forms and solemnities of a regular law-suit in an ordinary court of justice. Never was a cause tried of such importance; and happy had it been for Scotland if the judge had confined himself to his proper province, without using the incidental reference as a means of usurping unfounded ulterior authority. A. D. 1292. 20 Nov.

In so far as regards the award itself, Edward seems to have decided justly, and pursuant to his deliberate opinion of the bearing of the rules or precedents of succession in Scotland upon the case. In the other circumstances, however, which took place, before and during the reference, and in his after conduct to John and Scotland, he acted in a most selfish, unjust, and tyrannous manner. Taking undue advantage of the unparalleled and perilous situation of Scotland, and of the eagerness of the competitors to acquire a throne at any price, all the principal of whom, and those having the best founded pretensions, were his own subjects, Edward was guilty of the most flagrant iniquity, by perverting the

A. D. 1292. 20 Nov. pure fountains of justice, and the power and influence he had incidentally acquired as umpire, to oppress the rights, liberties, and independence of an imperial kingdom, certainly more ancient than his own, by means of fraud and treachery, and by the manifestation of an armed force, ready to pour into an unprepared and divided country, should any of his arbitrary mandates and manifest usurpations have been resisted.

SECTION III.

From the Coronation of John Baliol, 30th November 1292; to his Deposition, in July 1296.

A. D. 1292. 30 Nov. WITHIN the short space of ten days after the completion of the humiliating transactions which have been related in the preceding section, John Baliol was crowned at Scone, upon the anniversary still held in honour of St Andrew, the tutelary saint of Scotland *. Al-
26 Dec. most immediately after which, he had to re-

* Hemingf. i. 37.

new his degradation, by performing homage A. D. 1292.
at Newcastle to the king of England *. But 26 Dec.
this was by no means the last and lowest indignity he was doomed to suffer from his unrelenting overlord; who appears to have set him up as a pageant of degraded royalty, on purpose to accustom the Scots to bear insult, and to prepare them for entire subjection to his absolute authority.

To an ambitious and powerful monarch, unrestrained by perfect legal forms, and uncontrolled by the principles of moral justice, occasion can never long be wanting for pretexts to oppress his weaker neighbours; still less for humbling and degrading a vassal, whom it is easy to find, or pretend, or provoke to become contumacious. In the course of the foregoing transactions, Edward had taken effectual care to establish sufficiently insidious grounds for such pretences, or for any other which he might please to bring forwards.
Founded on the order which Edward had is- 31 Dec.
sued for the reception of Scots breves in the English courts, an appeal was made to Edward from a judgment pronounced by the late guardians †. John resisted this, as contrary to

* Foed. Angl. II. 593. † Ryley, 145.

A. D. 1292. 31 Dec. the promise of Edward to observe the laws and usages of Scotland. Edward angrily declared his resolution to hear and determine in every cause which was regularly brought before him from Scotland, and even to summon the king of Scots, if necessary, into his presence*. John pusillanimously shrunk from supporting even the small remnant of subroyal dignity which had been left to him by express conventions, and even renounced explicitly the provisions of Birgham †.

1293. Another appeal case occurred from Scotland, and Edward summoned his vassal John to answer in person before his supreme tribunal. This unprecedented act of arbitrary power, contrary to every principle of law and common sense, tyrannically assumed the judge as a party in a cause which he had regularly decided; and must have proceeded from a settled plan of forcing John into resistance, on purpose to give a colour to ulterior concerted measures for depriving him of his kingdom. After some hesitation and delay, John compeared; but refused to answer without the advice of his people. Under pretence of contumacy, the English parliament decreed the

* Foed. Angl. II. 597. † A. of S. I. 245.

sequestration of three principal Scots fortresses, till John should make submission and satisfaction for his disobedience and contempt. Proceedings were, however, delayed, and the castles were not seized; because, perhaps, Edward considered the measure as too precipitate, and because matters were not, in his opinion, sufficiently ripe for employing a military force, which the seizure of the castles must have required *. A. D. 1293.

In the second parliament of King John, which was held at Stirling, Robert Bruce, son of the competitor, Earl of Carrick in right of his wife then recently deceased, resigned that earldom, and petitioned the king to receive the homage of his eldest son Robert, as heir to his mother. After some legal difficulties had been surmounted, in which Baliol shewed considerable favour to the rival family, young Robert Bruce, then about nineteen years of age, was admitted to do homage, and became Earl of Carrick in his own right †. 3 Aug.

Immediately after the decision of the competition in favour of his successful rival, Ro-

* Foed. Angl. I. 247—249—and 252—254.

† A. of S. I. 252.

A. D. 1293. bert, the aged competitor, resigned his lordship of Annandale to his son, and no longer appeared in public affairs. About two years after the present period, having attained the very advanced age of eighty-five, he died at the family residence of Lochmaben castle in Annandale. From the present period, it is necessary to distinguish the *son* of the competitor as Lord of Annandale, and his *grandson*, afterwards king, as Earl of Carrick.

1294. The progress of Edwards ambitious measures, for reducing Baliol and Scotland to entire dependence, were suspended for some time, by war between England and France. He took advantage, however, of that circumstance to display and extend his supreme authority over John and Scotland; or, perhaps, he employed the occasion as favourable for producing additional instances of contumacy and disobedience from his vassal king. Having imposed an embargo on his English dominions, he ordered John to adopt the same measure in Scotland; with injunctions to continue it until his farther pleasure should be made known. He likewise required John to send troops to assist in a projected expedition into Gascony; and demanded the presence

and aid of several Scots nobles *. Among A. D. 1294.
these, the Lord of Annandale was enjoined to send some of his people, and the Earl of Carrick was summoned to appear in person †. These were unequivocal measures of direct assumed dominion over Scotland; but the demands were eluded by the Scots, under pretence of being unable to furnish any considerable force.

Now, clearly perceiving the settled determination of the king of England to reduce 1295.
their country under entire subjection, the nobility of Scotland tardily resolved to counteract his measures to the utmost of their power. In a parliament held at Scone, they prevailed on John to dismiss all Englishmen from his court and service; and they appointed a commission, or permanent council, of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, for regulating and conducting all national affairs: Thus evincing their conviction of the incapacity of their king for holding the reins of government in the then delicate and important emergency ‡. One of the earliest measures of this commission was the secret negociation of an alliance

* Foed. Angl. II. 643. † A. of S. I. 255.
‡ A. of S. I. 256.

A. D. 1295. 23 Oct. with France *; in which Fraser bishop of St Andrews appears to have been employed, in conjunction with Sir John Soulis, and Sir Ingram Umfravile †.

To remove, if possible, any suspicions respecting the tendency of the new councils then agitating in Scotland, John made a tender of the whole revenue of his English estates to Edward, in aid of the war against France; and, as a farther pledge of his fidelity, he consented to impledge the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, in the hands of the Bishop of Carlisle, until the end of that war ‡. But this surrender, if ever seriously intended, seems to have been eluded.

In the treaty of alliance with France, John engaged to assist Philip against England with all his power, if Edward should invade France; and Philip reciprocally became bound to aid the Scots, in the event of an invasion from England, either by a diversion, or by sending
1296. succours §. In fulfilment of the stipulations
26 Mar. in this treaty, fatal in its consequences to the Baliol family, and the conditions of which were never executed by the French court, the Scots army, commanded by John Cumyn earl

* Foed. Angl. II. 695. † Ford. xi. xv.

‡ Foed. Angl. II. 692. § Id. 696.

of Buchan, invaded Cumberland, and was disgracefully repulsed from before Carlisle. A. D. 1296.

Edward lost no time in proceeding to punish the contumacy and rebellion of his vassal. Having drawn together an army, he took Berwick by assault, and put the garrison and all the inhabitants to the sword. The garrison of the castle, consisting of two hundred men, resisted for some time, but at length capitulated, being allowed the honours of war, and were dismissed under the condition of never bearing arms against England *. 30 Mar.

The Scots army under Cumyn made a fresh invasion of England into Northumberland, while Edward was engaged in besieging Berwick castle; but without reaping either glory or advantage; and was soon obliged to retreat in a disorderly manner into Scotland †. 8 April.

During the siege of Berwick castle by the English, and in the interval between the two disgraceful invasions of England, by the advice of his parliament, or at the instigation of the parliamentary commission which had charge of the government, John made a formal renunciation of the allegiance he had sworn to Edward. In justification of this 5 April.

* A. of S. I. 258. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1296. 5 April. measure, he alleged that the King of England had wantonly summoned him to attend his courts; had sequestrated his English estates; had seized his goods and those of his subjects; had forcibly carried off and detained certain natives of Scotland; and, instead of redressing grievances upon remonstrance, had aggravated them by fresh insult; and, finally, that Edward then wasted Scotland with fire and sword*. This renunciation was delivered to Edward by Henry abbot of Arbroath; to whom the king of England exclaimed in Norman French, "*A ce fou felon tel foli faict? S'il ne volt venir à nous, nous vendrons à li* †. Hath the foolish traitor done so? Since he will not come to us, we shall go to him."

28 April. The fate of Scotland and its degraded king was soon decided. While Edward was still engaged in the siege of Berwick castle, he detached a considerable force under Warrene earl of Surry, to invest the castle of Dunbar. The Scots army under the Earl of Buchan approached for its relief, taking post on an adjacent steep hill. Warrene offered them battle on the plain; and they, rashly descending from the advantage ground, were soon broken

* Ford. XI. xviii. Foed. Angl. II. 707. † Ford. loc. cit.

and entirely dispersed. In consecutive of this overthrow, the castle of Dunbar immediately surrendered *. A. D. 1296. 28 April.

In this rash and ill-conducted enterprize at Dunbar, and in his two disgraceful invasions of England, the Earl of Buchan evinced his total incapacity for military command. Had he occupied the passes of the Lammermoor mountains between Fastcastle and Colbrands path, a series of deep ravines flanked by the sea and abrupt declivities, still called the *passes*, he might have long delayed or even baffled the march of the English into the plains of Lothian: Or, by preserving his advantageous position, on the steep chain of hills which extends to the close neighbourhood of Dunbar, he might have harrassed the English army by frequent skirmishes and attacks, beating up their quarters, intercepting their convoys, and watching and annoying all their motions; while detached light parties, making repeated inroads into Cumberland and Northumberland, from various parts of the borders, would at length have constrained the English invaders to return for the defence of their own country.

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* A. of S. I. 162.

A. D. 1296. 28 April. It is curious to remark, that the Scots army, in times long subsequent, committed the same fatal error, almost on the same ground, by rashly descending, from the Down-hill near Dunbar, to fight the usurper Cromwell, when general for the English Commonwealth, and almost with precisely similar consequences, of total and easy discomfiture and dispersion, and the immediate subjugation of their country.

When John renounced his allegiance, and made the feeble and ill-managed attempt to recover the independence of his crown and kingdom, it is reported that Edward, on purpose to secure the services of the Bruce family and its adherents, and thus to divide his destined prey, had promised to bestow the dependant kingdom of Scotland on the younger Lord of Annandale; and that, upon the issue of the battle of Dunbar, Bruce claimed the performance of this promise. "*Ne avons nous autre chose à faire, que à vous royaums gagner?* Have I no other business than to conquer kingdoms for you?" is said to have been the haughty reply of Edward: on which Bruce silently retired to his English estates, and pas-

sed the remainder of his days in safe and opulent obscurity *. A. D. 1296.

During this short and disastrous war, the Bruce family and all its adherents were ranged on the side of Edward. John had very properly declared that all neutrals and partizans of Edward should be considered as traitors against their king and country; and the Earl of Buchan obtained a grant of Annandale, of which he took a transient possession †.

In consequence of the defeat of Dunbar, the fortresses of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were yielded to the army of Edward, irresistible in the divided state of Scotland. And soon afterwards the Earl of Carrick, grandson of the competitor, was deputed to receive the submission and homage of the inhabitants of Carrick to Edward. In so despicable an office was the renowned Bruce employed, at his first appearance on the public stage ‡. In a few years afterwards, he effectually wiped off this stain, by rescuing his country from oppression. 13 May. 14 May.

John pusillanimously despaired of his cause, in which he does not appear to have ever ventured into the field. He abjectly implored the 2 July.

* Ford. XI. xxv. † A. of S. I. 263. ‡ Id. 264.

A. D. 1296. 2 July. mercy of his almost unresisted conqueror; resigned his crown and kingdom to his offended sovereign; and meanly submitted to perform a solemn and public feudal penance to obtain pardon for his delinquency, merely to save his forfeited life, and perhaps to recover his patrimonial estates; for these were all the mercies he experienced, as he was detained prisoner for a considerable time afterwards *.

"Thus ended the short and disastrous reign of John Baliol: an ill-fated prince! censured for doing homage to Edward, and never applauded for asserting the national independency. Yet, in his original offence, he had the example of Bruce; and, at his revolt, he saw the rival family combating under the banners of England. His attempt to shake off a foreign yoke speaks him of a high spirit impatient of injuries. He erred in enterprizing beyond his strength: in the cause of liberty, it was a meritorious error. He confided in the valour and unanimity of his subjects, and in the assistance of France. The efforts of his subjects were languid and discordant; and France beheld his ruin with the indifference of an unconcerned spectator †."

* A. of S. I. 264. † Id. 265.

Such were the opinions of Lord Hailes on this important crisis. With the utmost deference to so excellent a historian, it may be asserted, That the measures of John, for recovering the honour and independence of his crown and country, were inconsiderately and injudiciously chosen; were confided to most incompetent agents, and were attempted to be executed without prudence, perseverance, or fortitude. Before precipitating the war with England, he ought to have well appreciated the military force which could be depended upon from his own kingdom, and ought to have been perfectly assured of efficient assistance from France. By these means, judiciously applied, he might have protracted the war, and might have wearied out the feudal strength of his enemy, incapable of the exertions required in a protracted campaign. And if, as obviously appears, incapable of acting personally as the leader of his subjects in the field, he ought to have selected one who was fitted to execute the important charge. A. D. 1296. 2 July.

It may be alleged that he was constrained to the particular line of conduct here objected to, by a parliamentary commission which he could not controul: the reply is obvious: His own incapacity for conducting the arduous

A. D. 1296. 2 July. affairs of the nation, occasioned the necessity for having recourse to that unusual measure; and the commission appears to have been entirely composed of his own partizans. John was assuredly a weak prince, altogether incapable of conceiving any spirited and judicious plan of procedure, or of following out any wise and regular system of political and military enterprize, with firmness, consistency, and energy; and his proud spirited nobles, accustomed to insubordination during the late inter-regnum, and broken down into parties by the competition, could never be brought to co-operate effectually under his feeble government. He is the first instance of a king of the Scots of full age, who declined the glorious task of leading his brave subjects in war; nor was the pusillanimous example followed by any of his successors, while able to take the field, for several succeeding ages.

Though the fortresses of the south-east of Scotland had submitted to the enemy, and though his tumultuous and ill-conducted army had been dissipated in the rash action at Dunbar; almost the whole country of Scotland, with all its impervious forests, impassible marshes, and rugged impracticable mountains, and its hardy and warlike inhabitants

still remained. As Bruce did afterwards, under infinitely more discouraging and desperate circumstances, had Baliol exerted an unconquerable spirit of resistance for so glorious a stake, he might, perhaps, have transmitted the crown of Scotland with honour to his posterity. At all events he might have died gloriously; and his name would have been enrolled among the heroes of Scots independence: Instead of which, his name was considered in Scotland as ominous; and one of our kings was constrained, by the prejudices of the nation, to change, at his accession, his name from John to Robert.

A. D. 1296. 2 July.

SECTION IV.

From the Deposition of John Baliol, 2d July 1296; *to the entire Expulsion of the English from Scotland, by Wallace, in October* 1297.

After the pusillanimous surrender of his crown by John Baliol, the King of England proceeded, altogether without resistance, to reduce Scotland under his own direct domi-

A. D. 1296. 2 July.

A. D. 1296. 2 July. nion. At every step in his triumphant progress, the prelates, nobility, and others, submitted themselves, and swore fealty to him as their immediate sovereign, abjuring the late French alliance. On his return towards England,
28 Aug. he held a Scots parliament at Berwick, where he received the homage of the clergy and laity of his newly acquired kingdom; and, among the rest, of Robert Bruce, the younger Earl of Carrick *.

Having thus easily and rapidly subjugated the whole kingdom, he pursued liberal and prudent measures for its speedy settlement under regular government. He restored the estates of the clergy, and the jointure lands of many widows of barons who had opposed him; and made provision for the families of those whom he detained in custody. He even allowed the ancient jurisdictions to remain with their hereditary proprietors; but committed the custody of some principal fortresses, and the government of some important districts, to Englishmen in whom he could confide. The general administration of affairs in Scotland was intrusted to three persons: John de Warrene earl of Surry as go-

† Prynne, III. 652.

vernor, Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary. "After settling all things in a state of seeming tranquillity, Edward departed from Scotland with the glory due to the conqueror of a free people *." A. D. 1296.

On account of bad health, Surry, the English governor, retired into the north of England, leaving the reins of authority with Cressingham, a proud, ignorant, avaricious, and voluptuous priest; who alienated the Scots by the rapacity with which he exacted the various sources of revenue under his administration. Ormesby, the justiciary, contributed to render the English government odious, by the harsh severity with which he executed his office. In these hands, though severe, the administration was feeble, and soon became abhorred and despised †. In the then situation of Scotland, for assuring and perpetuating its subjection to England, it was necessary either to have pursued measures of the most perfectly conciliatory nature, to reconcile and habituate the nobility and people to the new usurping government, or to have used the rights of conquest with the same energy as was more anciently done by the 1297.

* A. of S. I. 269. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1297. Duke of Normandy, when he overthrew the Saxon government of England. The Scots barons and people ought to have been assimulated with England; or Scotland ought to have been planted with English barons, and colonies of their military followers. But the mixture of jealous lenity evinced towards the great barons and clergy, and the harsh rapacious severity which was exercised over the great body of the people, while it occasioned the English government to be held in universal detestation, betrayed its weakness, because not supported by any adequate military force. In those days, the temporary energy of the feudal system was often for a time irresistible; but, as the crown had no revenue adequate to the support of a standing army, and as the great feudatories were only obliged to serve, with their military followers, during a limited period, conquests were often as quickly lost as they had been rapidly atchieved.

In the state of insubordination, verging upon anarchy, to which the English administration in Scotland was reduced, by the ill-judged conduct of Cressingham and Ormesby, one of the most exalted and wonderful characters that adorn the middle ages arose, to reclaim and vindicate the rights of his enslaved coun-

try. WILLIAM WALLACE was the first Scotsman who dared to oppose the tyranny of the English rulers; and he succeeded effectually to revive the dormant spirit of liberty in Scotland. Yet, infinite as are the obligations conferred by him upon his country, it remains a problem, perhaps never to be effectually solved, who he actually was. He has been called the younger son of a gentleman of knightly degree, Wallace of Ellerslie in the neighbourhood of Paisley, but upon presumptive, and not perfectly conclusive evidence*. A hero he certainly was of uncommon energy; yet Wallace, the deliverer of Scotland from slavery and oppression, still remains without a monument, except in the grateful traditions of his countrymen. A. D. 1297.

According to a recent author, the family of Wallace, anciently named Waleys, Walays, or Wallas, and Walense, in the Latin of the times, was of Anglo-Norman origin, though the name seems to indicate a Welsh extraction. Some time before 1174, Ricardus or Richard Walense is a subscribing witness to the charters of Walter Fitz-Alan, the ancestor of the Stewarts, and from whom he acquired lands in

* A. of S. I. 269.

A. D. 1297. Kyle, a district of Ayrshire, to the mansion-house of which he gave his own name of Riccard-tun, or Richards-town. He appears to have been succeeded in these lands by a son and grandson, both named Richard. Henry Walense, or Walays, probably a younger son of this family, held lands in Renfrewshire, in the early part of the thirteenth century, under Walter the High Stewart of Scotland. Adam Walense, a knight or soldier of Walter the Stewart, was probably the son of Henry, and is believed to have been the father of Malcolm Walays, the father of the renowned champion of Scots independence *.

Whatever may have been his parentage, Wallace possessed every requisite for becoming a popular leader in those distracted times. His strength and stature are said to have far exceeded the ordinary measure of mankind. Active, persevering, and undaunted, in the most difficult and desperate situations, his bravery was directed by the most disinterested ambition and the purest patriotism, and was always guided by deliberate judgment, and perfect knowledge in the art of war, as then practised, and as adapted for the people

* Caledonia, I. 577.

whom he led, the enemies he had to encounter, and the country in which his operations were carried on. By calm and steady wisdom, and the irresistible sway of native eloquence, aided by universal admiration of his unparalleled prowess, wonderfully successful conduct, entire disinterestedness, and judicious munificence, he acquired and maintained unbounded authority over the rude multitudes who followed him to the field, and conciliated and preserved the confidence and affection of his numerous adherents; though destitute of aid from the spirit of clanship, or the trappings of baronial elevation, which were then the only accustomed bonds of military subordination and discipline *. A. D. 1297.

While Wallace alone guided the councils and directed the arms of Scotland, uncontrolled by the proud barons who were envious of his fame and jealous of his elevation and influence, he prevailed over the whole power, wealth, and policy of England. But, on again reverting to the command of her factious chiefs and divided nobility, Scotland was again constrained to stoop under the ty-

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* A. of S. I. 270.

A. D. 1297. rannous sway of her haughty conqueror, who was able to wield the undivided force of a vastly more populous and richer kingdom: Until another hero apppeared to tread in the honoured footsteps of the illustrious Wallace; but who possessed every requisite of baronial influence, extensive and powerful connexions, and numerous military followers, united with a well-founded claim to ascend the vacant throne of his country.

Outlawed, as has been reported, for the slaughter of an English person of rank, Wallace at first associated with a small number of followers, of fortunes desperate as his own; freebooters, perhaps, whom the harsh severity of the English governors had driven to despair, and whom the anarchy of the country had incited to live by plunder. These people he moulded into a regular and systematic opposition against the English. Success soon augmented his force, and encouraged him, from plundering detached and straggling parties of Englishmen, to bolder and more important enterprizes. At length he was joined May. by Sir William Douglas, the only Scotsman of condition who had the honour, at the first, to contend in arms for the freedom of his country along with Wallace. These united

champions of Scots liberty attempted to surprise Ormesby at Scone; and, being disappointed by his timely flight, they roamed over the country, assaulted the castles that were held for Edward, and slaughtered all the English that fell in their way. Gaining confidence and numbers from success, they marched into the south-west of Scotland, where they were joined by Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, one of the former guardians, and by some of the Scots barons *.

A. D. 1297. May.

At this period, Robert Bruce, the younger Earl of Carrick, grandson of the competitor, and afterwards king, was one of the most powerful barons in the south-west of Scotland. In right of his deceased mother, and by the resignation of his father, he possessed the earldom of Carrick; and, by his fathers permission, who appears to have retired to the family estate in England, he administered the lordship of Annandale, the ancient patrimonial inheritance of the Bruce family. Hence his territories extended between the firths of Clyde and Solway, and joined the borders of England. Suspecting his fidelity in this alarm-

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* Hemingf. I. 118, 119.

A. D. 1297. May. ing conjuncture, the wardens of the English western marches summoned him to appear at Carlisle, where he made oath to be faithful and vigilant in the service of Edward. To evince his sincerity, he laid waste the lands of Sir William Douglas, and even carried off his wife and children. Soon repenting, however, of this unpatriotic conduct, or having only employed it as a pretext for collecting his military followers, he abandoned the English service, and joined the army of the revolted Scots: Saying, in excuse for breaking his recent engagements, that he trusted the Pope would absolve him from the breach of an extorted oath*.

The English exerted themselves to quell the recent insurrection, and marched an army against the Scots; whom they found strongly posted near Irvine, formidable in their numbers, but enfeebled by dissension. Without

9 July. venturing to try the event of a single battle, the whole Scots leaders, excepting Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, treated with the English for pardon, and made submission to the authority of Edward †.

It may be presumed that the independent chiefs of the Scots could not come to any

* Hemingf. I. 123. † Id. ib.

agreement upon the fundamental principles of their opposition to England. They had no acknowledged head, by whom, or in whose name, the authority of government, or the supreme military command, could be exercised. John, the former sovereign, had been deposed from the throne, which he had solemnly renounced to Edward. Bruce had not hitherto ventured to advance his own pretensions, or rather those of his father. There still remained descendants of Margaret of Huntington, besides the abdicated Baliol family; but these do not appear to have advanced any claim to the vacant throne. Thus, where all were equal, no one could assume authority; and where high interests, important pretensions, and powerful connexions were in opposition, unanimous delegation of command could not be agreed upon; and the general interests of their country were impaired, almost to utter ruin, by the dissensions and party jealousies of the discordant nobles. A. D. 1297. 9 July.

Among the rest of the recreant Scots nobles, Bruce acknowledged his offence, and made every submission. But, from the inconsistent levity of his recent conduct, some security, more binding than a mere repetition of his broken oath of fidelity, was required for his

A. D. 1297. 9 July.

fidelity. Accordingly, Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, the Stewart of Scotland, and Alexander de Lindesay became sureties for his future loyalty, until he should deliver his daughter Marjory as an hostage *. Edward politically accepted the submission of the Scots barons, on condition of serving in his wars in France †.

In the general defection of the Scots at Irvine from the cause of their country, Wallace scorned to submit. Accompanied by one gentleman only, Sir Andrew Moray, he withdrew towards the north of Scotland at the head of a small band of faithful followers. Ascribing the conduct of Wisheart, who managed the treaty of submission at Irvine, to treachery, he hastened to the bishops house, which he pillaged of all the horses, arms, and effects, " and led into captivity the sons even of the bishop, who passed under the name of his nephews ‡."

Under the command of the renowned Wallace, and his gallant brother in arms Sir Andrew Moray, the faithful band of patriots gathered strength and confidence in the north, and proceeded to besiege the castle of Dun-

* Foed. Angl. II. 774, 775. † Id. II. 772—782.
‡ Hemingf. I. 124.

dee; perhaps in the hope of opening an intercourse for assistance from France, or at least for the purposes of commerce. Learning that an English army approached Stirling, on its march to suppress the insurgents, Wallace committed the blockade of its castle to the inhabitants of Dundee, and hastened with his army to meet the English at the important passage of the river Forth near Stirling *. A. D. 1297.

Brian Fitz-Alan had been appointed to the government of Scotland by Edward; and the Earl of Surry, who still remained with the army, waiting the arrival of his successor, was anxious to avoid an engagement. He even made advances to treat with Wallace, who indignantly answered the messenger: "Tell your masters, that we came not here to treat, but to set Scotland free. Let them advance: They will find us prepared to set them at defiance †."

Roused to indignation at this insulting message from a despised enemy, the English army impatiently demanded to be led to battle. 11 Sept. Sir Richard Lundin, who had recently submitted at Irvine, remonstrated against the danger of defiling by a long narrow bridge in

* Ford. XI. xxix. † Hemingf. I. 126.

A. D. 1297. 11 Sept.

presence of the enemy, and offered to conduct a detachment, by a ford at some distance above, upon the rear of the Scots, who lay behind an eminence near the abbey of Cambuskenneth. As dividing the enemy, and perhaps from doubts of his fidelity, this judicious proposal was rejected. Surry still wished to avoid engaging; but Cressingham impetuously urged an immediate attack, as protracting the war served only to waste the kings treasure *.

Under the command of that ignorant and headstrong priest, the English van passed the bridge, and the rest of the army continued to follow. Watching his opportunity, before any sufficient force had time to form, Wallace rushed irresistibly from his well chosen position, and broke the half formed English in a moment. Consternation and dismay immediately spread among the English troops, who had been so confident of success. Those who had not passed set fire to the bridge, to prevent pursuit, abandoned their camp and baggage, and fled precipitately to Berwick. That portion of the army which had passed under Cressingham was completely overwhelmed;

* Trivet. 307.

and, to the amount of some thousands, was slain in the field, drowned in attempting to cross the river, or made prisoners. Cressingham was slain; and the victory, complete in all respects, was only rendered dear to the Scots by the lamented death of the gallant Moray; as their loss otherwise was very inconsiderable *.

A. D. 1297. 11 Sept.

The consequences of this victory were vast and sudden, beyond even the hopes of Wallace. All the fortified places in Scotland, even Berwick, surrendered to his arms, almost without resistance; owing doubtless to the panic occasioned by this astonishing reverse of fortune, and that no time was given for the English to supply their fortresses against being besieged, an event that did not seem necessary to be contemplated only a few days before the battle †.

To relieve his now enfranchised country, at this time afflicted with a grievous famine, Wallace, assuming the son and heir of Moray as his coadjutor in command, led a numerous army into the north of England, which he laid waste with all the energy of vengeance during upwards of three weeks, and returned loaded with spoil altogether unopposed ‡.

18 Oct. — 11 Nov.

* Ford. XI. xxix. † Id. ib. ‡ Hemingf. I. 131-136.

A. D. 1297. 11 Nov. According to the Scotichronicon, "Wallace summoned the whole male population of Scotland, able to bear arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, from every shire, lordship, barony, city, town, burgh, and village, to assemble after harvest was gathered in, under pain of death. That to this prodigious assemblage, he appointed leaders of four, of five, and of ten men, and captains of hundreds and of thousands, and led the whole into England before the feast of All Saints. Learning that certain burgesses and others of Aberdeen had disobeyed the summons, he hastened thither with all speed, and capitally punished the recusants; and then returned with incredible speed to his army; after which he wasted and destroyed the whole of Northumberland, up to Newcastle, from the day of All Saints, 1st November 1297, to the day of the Purification, 2d February 1298; or, as some chronicles relate, only till Christmas day, 25th December 1297; after which he returned safely into Scotland *.

During this expedition, Wallace and the younger Sir Andrew Moray assumed the title of "Generals, or Leaders, of the army of Scot-

* Ford. XI. xxix.

land, by the consent of the community, and in the name of the illustrious John, by the grace of God, King of Scots *." In vain Wallace endeavoured to repress the licentious rapacity and cruel outrage of his troops. Solicited for protection by the canons of Hexham, then named Hexhildesham, he desired them to remain under his own safeguard, "for his people were evil doers, and he might not restrain them †." It is alleged that a great Northumbrian baron, Robert de Ros of Werke, joined with Wallace on this occasion, and assisted in wasting his own country ‡.

A. D. 1297. 11 Nov.

Thus, for a season, through the genius and prowess of one obscure man, Scotland was entirely set free from the usurped domination of Edward, and severe retributive vengeance was executed upon England for the injuries it had heaped upon the Scots nation. Had Wallace been seconded by the unanimous confidence and co-operation of the Scots nobles, the country might soon have been enabled to treat for peace with Edward on equal terms, either for the restoration of their deposed sovereign, or through a new king of their own choice. But this happy consummation of vic-

* Hemingf. I. 135. † Id. 136. ‡ Dugd. Baron. II. 555.

A. D. 1297. tory, certainly within their grasp, was thrown to a distance by their proud jealousy of the renowned champion of his country, and through want of union among themselves.

SECTION V.

From the Expulsion of the English from Scotland, by Wallace, in October 1297, *to his Retreat from Public Affairs, in July* 1298.

A. D. 1298. 29 Mar. AFTER his return to Scotland from his successful invasion of England, Wallace assumed a higher tone of command, and even arrogated to himself the exercise of supreme civil and military authority. In this capacity, which he assuredly merited, but of which the legitimate origin does not appear, he conferred the office of constable of Dundee on Alexander Skirmishur, or Scrimzeour, and his heirs. In this grant, still extant, he designs himself, "Guardian, or Keeper, of the Kingdom of Scotland, and general of its armies, in the name of the most excellent Prince John, by

the grace of God, illustrious King of Scotland, and by consent of the community of the same*." In an after part of the same deed, it is said to have been executed with the consent and assent of the Scots nobles; meaning such of the nobles, perhaps, as then served under his command. This grant is made in remuneration of the services performed by Scrimzeour, while carrying the royal banner along with the Scots army. In a list of missing records belonging to the reign of Robert the Bruce, two charters, or two notices of the same charter, remain, of the office of standard-bearer to Nichol Skymieshour or Skirmishour, together with certain lands in Fife, to be holden blanch on payment of a pair of gilt spurs†. And, to the present day, a gentleman bearing the same name of Scrimzeour enjoys the honourable hereditary office of standard-bearer of Scotland.

A. D. 1298. 29 Mar.

In this deed, no mention is made of Sir Andrew Moray, so recently before associated in the supreme command of the army. Whether this was occasioned by Moray having joined in the envy and jealousy of the Scots

* Diplom. Scot. No. 44.

† Robertsons Index, p. 20. No. 115. and p. 22. No. 52.

A. D. 1298. 29 Mar. barons; or if, elated by his great popularity and vast military success, Wallace now disdained a divided command, no where appears.

From this period we may presume to date that jealousy which the great barons entertained of Wallace. According to Fordun, it was the language among the nobility, "*We will not have this man to rule over us* *. His elevation wounded their pride; his great services reproached their inactivity in the public cause. Pride and envy might affect to consider his hereditary grants as an alarming exercise of sovereign power. Thus did the spirit of distrust inflame the passions and distract the councils of the nation at that important moment when the being of Scotland depended upon unanimity †. "Some of these envious persons are said even to have recovered their baronies and properties from the English through his means. But the commons universally, and some of the more judicious of the nobles, who were better disposed towards the public welfare, were very grateful for his services in the cause of their country. The Scots, alas! are apt to observe the prosperity

* Ford. XI. xxxi. † A. of S. I. 279.

not only of strangers, but of their own patriots, with an evil eye. In this they may be compared to Cain, who envied the prosperity of Abel; to Rachel, who repined at the fecundity of Leah; to Saul, who was jealous of the success of David: And thus the Scots were envious of the fame and prowess of Wallace *." A. D. 1298.

Some time after the successful issue of the battle of Stirling, but probably not until the subsequent spring of this year, 1298, the younger Earl of Carrick again acceded to the cause of his country, now apparently triumphant. He was irritated, doubtless, by the conduct of Sir Robert Clifford, who made two inroads from Cumberland into Annandale, during the winter 1297-8, when he ravaged the estates of Bruce, and burnt the town of Annan and several villages in its vicinity †. It is probable, however, that Clifford acted upon some intelligence that Bruce was preparing to renounce his recently renewed allegiance, and did not wantonly provoke a baron of such power and influence into rebellion.

Edward was engaged in Flanders at the time of the battle of Stirling, and did not re-

* Ford. XI. xxxi. † Hemingf. I. 137.

A. D. 1298. turn to England until the spring of the succeeding year. This may account for the facility with which Wallace had expelled the English from Scotland, after his brilliant and decisive victory; and for the total want of resistance against his subsequent invasion of England. It is often the fate of ambition, by grasping at too many objects, to thwart its own purposes; and, assuredly, had Edward steadily pursued the reduction of Scotland, as the sole grand object of his politics, he could hardly have failed of complete ultimate success.

On his return to England in spring 1298, he summoned the Scots barons to meet him at York, under the penalty of being deemed rebels: But, from dread of Wallace, then in the zenith of his power, they failed to attend. He collected, however, a numerous army; consisting of three thousand cavalry, armed at all points, and mounted on barbed steeds, that is, having their horses covered with defensive armour; above four thousand other horsemen completely armed, but without armour to their horses; and eighty thousand volunteer infantry, mostly from Ireland and Wales*. This formidable army rendezvoused

* Hemingf. I. 159.

at Berwick, which the Scots do not seem to have defended; and, in proportion as the army of Edward advanced, the Scots army retired into their own country. A. D. 1298.

In the mean time, to distract the attention of the Scots, and to divide their forces, the Earl of Pembroke landed in the north of Fife with a considerable body of English troops; but, being attacked by Wallace in person, was completely routed*. 12 June.

In its advance from Berwick, the English army experienced no opposition, except at Dirleton castle in East Lothian; all the intervening country being the territory of the Earl of March, then in the English interest. Meanwhile the Scots forces assembled from all quarters to the neighbourhood of Falkirk, intending to make a stand there in defence of their country. But many of the principal barons stood aloof, and several even were in the army of Edward. Of the few barons who repaired to the standard of Scots independence, history records the names of John Cumyn younger of Badenoch; Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to the Stewart of Scot-

* A. of S. I. 280.

A. D. 1298. land; Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and M'Duff the grand-uncle of the young Earl of Fife*.

At this period, the young Earl of Carrick was in arms on the side of the Scots; but, instead of being present in the main army, he guarded the castle of Ayr, which preserved the communication with Galloway and the West Highlands †. This authentic circumstance completely refutes the absurd tale of Bruce having fought on the side of the English at Falkirk, and of a long conference between him and Wallace immediately after that battle.

21 July. In his progress westwards, Edward encamped at Kirkliston, then called Temple-liston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow; and had nearly been forced to retreat, from failure of provisions, as the fleet, which he had ordered to attend his army with supplies, had been kept back by contrary winds. But the injudicious precipitancy of the Scots saved him from that disgrace. Instead of keeping at a distance with their main army, and harassing the English, by protracting the war, they rashly advanced to Falkirk, with the determined

* A. of S. I. 281. † Id. ib.

resolution to abide the chance of battle; and Edward immediately resolved to meet them *. A. D. 1298. 22 July.

In the close neighbourhood of Falkirk, Wallace drew up his army in order of battle, in a stoney field, on the side of a small eminence, having a bog or marsh in front. According to historians, he arranged his infantry, in which the bulk of his army consisted, in four compact bodies, called schiltrons by our ancient Scots writers; in each of which the long Scottish spears were pointed outwards in all directions †. The close order of this phalanx is thus described by an old English author:

"Ther formost courey ‡ ther bakkis togidere sette,
There speres poynt over poynt, so sare § and so thikke
And fast togidere joynt ||, to se it was ferlike ¶.
Als a castelle thei stode, that were walled with stone,
Thei wende** no man of blode†† thorgh ‡‡ tham suld haf gone §§."

The intervals between these four divisions of spearmen were filled with archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart. About a thousand

* Hemingf. I. 162. † A. of S. I. 283.
‡ Frontline. § Artfully. || Joined. ¶ Wonderful.
** Believed. †† None, however courageous. ‡‡ Through.
§§ Langtoft. II. 305.

A. D. 1298. 22 July. horse, apparently under the command of Cumyn, were stationed at some distance in the rear *. Having thus marshalled his army, Wallace emphatically said, "I haif brocht you to the ring, hap gif ye cun †." In modern English, I have brought you to the field, exert now your best skill; or literally, I have brought you to the ring, dance according to your knowledge; alluding to the ring dances then in vogue.

Placing his chief confidence in his numerous and formidable cavalry, Edward arranged them in three divisions. The first, or left wing, was led by Bigot Earl Marshal, assisted by the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second, or right, by the Bishop of Durham, assisted by Sir Ralph Basset; the third, or reserve, was led by the king in person. The numerous body of English infantry appears to have been drawn up in the rear of the cavalry, to annoy the Scots with their arrows and other missile weapons ‡.

At the head of the first division of cavalry, Bigot rushed impetuously to the charge; but, checked by the morass, he was constrained to

* Hemingf. I. 163. † Walsingh. 75. M. Westm. 451.
‡ A. of S. I. 285.

incline farther to the left, that he might attain the left flank of the Scots. The bishop, more wary, inclined his division to the right; and, having turned the morass, advanced towards the left flank of the Scots infantry. He then proposed to halt for the advance of the reserve. "To mass, Bishop," exclaimed Basset, and instantly charged *. A. D. 1298. 22 July.

Intimidated by the superior number and resolute charge of the English men-at-arms, the small body of Scots cavalry immediately fled without coming to action †. While encouraging the archers, who appear to have been from the forest of Selkirk, the brother of the Stewart was unhorsed and slain; and his gallant followers perished around him ‡.

Bereft of all aid, by the slaughter of the archers, and the flight of the horse, the Scots spearmen bore up gallantly for a great while against the incessantly reiterated efforts of the English cuirassiers to penetrate their firm array. The English infantry sore plied them with continual flights of arrows, and even with showers of stones which abounded on the field of battle; and, by the constantly repeated charges of the English horse, their

* A. of S. I. 285. † Id. ib. ‡ Hemingf. I. 165.

A. D. 1298. 22 July. foremost ranks were beaten down. M'Duff and Sir John Graham were both slain; and the Scots spearmen, worn out by perpetual exertions, were at length forced to give way to the force, numbers, and arms of their adversaries. They were finally disordered, broken, and dispersed; and, having no support from cavalry or archers to cover their retreat, the rout became universal, and great numbers perished on the field, and in the pursuit *.

In this battle, the loss on the side of the English was very inconsiderable, only two persons of any note being slain. The loss of the Scots has been variously related. Exaggerated as usual by the English historians, and diminished by the accounts of the vanquished. The former extend the slaughter to twenty, and even sixty thousand men, while the latter acknowledge to have lost ten thousand †.

In the battle at Falkirk, as in that fought two years before at Dunbar, the rash presumption of the Scots leaders was fatal to the cause of their country. Owing to various circumstances, but chiefly from vastly inferior affluence, the Scots were for the most part

* Ford. XI. xxxiv. † A. of S. I. 286.

unable to cope with the English in pitched battles. Not possessing a sufficiency of the powerful horses, and almost impenetrable armour, which the English could procure in such superior perfection and abundance, the Scots were incapable to withstand the terrible brunt of men-at-arms. Neither were the Scots provided with such numbers of expert archers, in which the English long excelled all the European nations. Had the Scots studied to protract the war, instead of precipitantly hazarding a general engagement, they might have constrained Edward to waste his resources in besieging the fortified places; while, with numerous light detachments, they intercepted his convoys, cut off his stragglers and foragers, beat up his quarters, and harassed his troops by continual alarms aud desultory attacks. By persevering in such conduct, and by retaliating invasions whenever the English army was dismissed, they might have foiled the whole military power of England, and would have ultimately compelled Edward to abandon his ambitious scheme of conquest. Even after the ruinous defeat of the Scots at Falkirk, he was very soon under the necessity of abandoning Scotland *.

A. D. 1298. 22 July.

* Hemingf, I. 166.

A. D. 1298. 22 July.

In excuse for the rashness and precipitancy of the Scots, it may be alleged that they were destitute of any sufficient revenue for supporting a protracted warfare; and, as their troops served without pay, and had even to find their own subsistence, they were always clamorous for bringing their services in the field to a speedy close. That service could not be legally exacted for more than forty days at one time; and they could only be kept together for a longer period, when, by successful invasions of England, they were enabled to subsist at the expence of the enemy, and to enrich themselves by plunder. Even in the latter case, they were eager to return home, that they might safely deposit what they had acquired during the predatory expedition.

Without presuming minutely to criticise the order of array which is said to have been adopted by Wallace in the fatal battle of Falkirk, it may be remarked, that an orb, or circular body of men, however powerful it may be for mere inert resistance, is necessarily immoveable from the spot on which it is drawn up. It can neither advance, or incline to the right or left, to take advantage of any relaxation in the efforts, or of any confusion in the ranks of the assailants. It is utterly unfit for

ever becoming active in any contingency whatever. Neither can it retreat when resistance is no longer adviseable or possible. By the smallest attempt to change its ground in any direction, its order must be instantly and irretrievably broken; and it then remains open to the assault of cavalry, or light infantry, without any possibility of resistance, or any chance of ever being able to rally. The unquestionably proper order of battle for spearmen is in solid oblong bodies, either in deep battalions, or close columns; and we may believe, for the honour and reputation of Wallace, that one or other of these, probably the former, constituted the schiltrons in which he arrayed his spearmen at Falkirk. Yet, even in the array of the phalanx, or deep battalion, which continued the order of the Scots heavy armed infantry long after the present period, and until fire-arms superseded the use of the spear; it is obvious, that troops armed with long spears, however formidable while in good order, and in direct attack, are unfit for resisting oblique and frequently changed assaults of lighter troops; and become the most helpless of all soldiers, when broken and reduced to their individual exertions for personal defence, or in flight.

A. D. 1298. 22 July.

A. D. 1298. 22 July.

The word schiltron, employed by our ancient Scots writers, to denote a large compact body of men, which has been usually interpreted an orb or circle, by no means has that signification necessarily; and only means a closely compacted body of men, covered by their shields, resembling a tortoise drawn within its shell. No part of the quotation from Langtoft implies any thing resembling an orb; but applies distinctly to a close column or deep battalion, faced to the front, the rear, and both flanks, with their spears portended in all these directions. Hemingford, however, certainly asserts, that the gross of the Scots army was marshalled in "four round circular bodies, having their faces all turned towards the circumferences *."

Trusting solely to the morass in their front, the Scots leaders appear to have neglected taking any precautions to secure their flanks, as we have seen that both were accessible and readily turned by the English cavalry, merely by wheeling round the ends of the morass. These flanks ought to have been guarded by deep trenches, lined by spearmen and archers intermixed. The position ought to have been

* Hemingf. I. 163.

converted into a strongly intrenched camp. A. D. 1298.
No precautions appear to have been taken for 22 July.
the defence of the rear, or of the archers, or for securing a retreat in the event of a defeat.

In their retreat, the Scots burned the town and castle of Stirling; which latter Edward ordered to be immediately repaired and garrisoned. He then turned his march to the west and south; and Bruce, having dismantled the castle of Ayr, retreated into Carrick. Being in want of provisions, and therefore unable to follow into that strong country, Edward bent his march towards England, by the western marches, and took possession of Lochmaben castle, the fortified patrimonial inheritance of the Bruce family *.

Wallace, hitherto the successful champion of his country, and the popular and gallant leader of her armies, seems now to have lost the confidence of the people, through the unfortunate issue of the battle of Falkirk. Owing to this, and to his disgust at the jealousies of the nobility, to which our historians attribute the unsuccessful events of this period, he appears to have resigned his office of guardian soon after the battle of Falkirk †. Hence-

* Hemingf. I. 166. † Ford. XI. xxxiv.

A. D. 1298. forwards this renowned warrior appears no more in the history of his country, at least as the commander of her armies; and hardly any authentic notices are to be discovered concerning him from the 22d of July 1298, the date of the fatal overthrow at Falkirk, till he was delivered up to Edward as a traitor, above seven years afterwards, in 1305.

SECTION VI.

From the Retirement of Wallace from Public Affairs, in July 1298; *to the second Reduction of Scotland by Edward, in September* 1305.

A. D. 1298. After the complete victory which the English atchieved at Falkirk, from some causes which cannot be now accurately appreciated, Edward was constrained to delay his intended conquest of Scotland, and in a great measure to abandon the fruits of his success. At the commencement of the campaign, he had appointed a fleet to meet him in the Firth of Clyde with provisions *: Perhaps that fleet

* Hemingf. I. 161.

was detained by contrary winds. From whatever circumstances it may have been occasioned, he made no effort to follow up the consequences of that victory effectually for considerably more than a year afterwards. A. D. 1298.

Considering John Baliol as a mere useless cypher, incapable of molesting him in the after prosecution of his plans, and urged by the King of France to liberate that unfortunate personage, Edward delivered over the deposed King of Scots to a papal nuncio, after having detained him a prisoner for about three years *. He lived in obscurity in France for about fifteen years afterwards; and left two sons, the heirs of his misfortunes, who both died childless: The younger, in 1332, assisting his brother in an abortive attempt to regain the Scots throne; the elder, after a short, slight, and dishonourable possession of that throne, degraded by homage to Edward III. and by cession of the valuable southern counties to that prince, died aged in England in 1363: And the family, so far at least as connected with Scots royalty, seems then to have become extinct. 1299. 18 July.

* Foed. Angl. II. 846.

A. D. 1299. Notwithstanding the formal abdication of John Baliol, and the contemptuous manner in which he had been dismissed to France, the Scots leaders still affected to consider him as their sovereign; although it does not appear that he ever took any step, public or secret, to renew his claim, or to sanction the efforts which his deserted subjects continued to make in his name, to defend their liberties, and the independence of their country against Edward. Some time after the unfortunate issue of the battle of Falkirk, a Scots regency was formed in the name of John; consisting of William de Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, John Cumyn the younger of Badenoch, and Robert Bruce the younger Earl of Carrick*. In the Scotichronicon, John Cumyn is said to have been elected sole regent by the Scots; and it is there added that, some time afterwards, John Baliol, then residing in France, associated John de Soulis in the office: But that Soulis, being simple and too easy tempered for the times, fell into contempt, relinquished the office, and went to France, where he died †.

* Foed. Angl. II. 859. † Ford. XI. xxxiv.

From subsequent circumstances, it would appear that Cumyn assumed, or was allowed to enjoy the chief direction of affairs under this appointment of a co-regency. After the deposition and abdication of John Baliol, Cumyn certainly was in the situation of first prince of the blood in Scotland, and might, with considerable propriety, have assumed the deserted crown, or at least the office of regent and protector of the kingdom. His mother Ada was the sister of John Baliol, and daughter of Dervorgil, who was grand-daughter of David earl of Huntington, by his eldest daughter Margaret. In Cumyn, therefore, the whole claim of the Baliol family revived as the next in substitution. But it does not appear that Cumyn ever preferred any direct claim to the throne, contenting himself with the precarious authority of joint regent. That Bruce never acted cordially, either in acknowledging John, or in supporting the cause of the regency, although himself one of the regents, may be presumed from the feeble and versatile conduct which he always evinced, until circumstances induced or compelled him to urge his own pretensions; and then, indeed, his conduct became consistent, energetic, and persevering.

A. D. 1299.

A. D. 1299. The first enterprize of the new Scots regency was to attempt the reduction of Stirling castle, a post of great importance, as commanding the communication between the northern and southern parts of Scotland. To cover this siege, a Scots army took post at the Torwood a few miles north-west of Falkirk; profiting apparently by the recollection of their recent discomfiture, to select a more defensible position, less adapted for the movements of cavalry, and better fitted for retreat in the event of defeat. To relieve this important garrison, Edward summoned an army to assemble at Berwick; but, dissatisfied with some of his political measures, the English barons refused to advance into Scotland, owing to the inclement season of the year and the exhausted situation of Scotland. Stirling, therefore, capitulated to the Scots *.

Nov.

1300. In the summer of the ensuing year, Edward invaded Scotland on the west, reducing Annandale and Galloway, the family estates of the Bruce and Baliol families. Wiser, from the experience of their late misfortunes, the Scots now avoided any general action, chose their military positions with judgment, and main-

* Trivet. 316.

tained a defensive war with considerable skill and success. If united among themselves, they might have ultimately baffled all the power of England, by steady perseverance in this judicious plan of operations. In these circumstances, and through the mediation of France, Edward consented to a truce with the Scots, to continue till the Whitsunday of the following year*.

A. D. 1300.

30 Oct.

A singular controversy arose at this time between Edward and the Pope, who now claimed to be Lord Paramount of Scotland: Yet Edward, after the expiry of the truce, made a fresh attempt to subdue Scotland. Entering by the eastern marches, he appears to have been unable to advance beyond Linlithgow, where he spent the winter. In this unsuccessful invasion, though without a battle, the English cavalry suffered extreme hardships from the severity of the weather and the scarcity of forage †.

By a fresh interposition of France, another truce was granted to the Scots, to continue until the festival of St Andrew, or the close of November ‡. In the course of this year,

1302. 26 Jan.

* Foed. Angl. II. 870. † Trivet. 332.
‡ Foed. Angl. II. 896.

A. D. 1302. 26 Jan. the Pope addressed a bull to the Scots bishops, alleging that they encouraged the people in their rebellion against Edward, and commanding them, on their allegiance to the Holy See, to promote peace and orderly subjection to their rightful sovereign*.

The truce having expired, and having favourably ended his controversy with the Pope, Edward sent an army into Scotland under the command of Sir John de Segrave. Marching towards Edinburgh, by the middle or dry march of Roxburghshire, Segrave chose to separate his troops into three divisions, for the better conveniency of procuring quarters and provisions, and marched them at such distances as to be unable to afford mutual support in case of attack. Taking advantage of this circumstance, of which he had received exact intelligence, John Cumyn the guardian, assisted by Simon Frazer, made a forced march during the night, from Biggar, with a
24 Feb. small but chosen band of troops. At daybreak, he came unexpectedly on the van division of the English, near Roslin, commanded by Segrave in person. Instead of falling back to concentrate his force by rejoining the other

* Foed. Angl. II. 905.

divisions of his army, Segrave rashly advanced to meet the Scots, and was totally defeated. Continuing to improve the advantage which they had gained, the Scots pushed on and overthrew the second division of the English; and, according to the Scots historians, they completed the glory of the field of Roslin by finally attacking and defeating the third or rear division, which appears to have been commanded by Sir Ralph Nevill *. But the English historians allege that this division *in a great measure* repulsed the Scots and recovered many of the prisoners †. The remnant of the defeated army immediately evacuated Scotland. A. D. 1303. 24 Feb.

Hitherto Edward had rather languidly pushed the war in Scotland for some years, owing to the interrupted and indecisive hostilities in which he was engaged in France. Having concluded a separate peace with that kingdom, in which no mention was made of the Scots interests, he was now enabled to bend the whole power and resources of his kingdom against Scotland. He accordingly marched a mighty army into Scotland, resolving to 20 May.

* Ford. XII. ii. † Hemingf. I. 198. Trivet. 336.

A. D. 20 May. 1303. exert every nerve to effectuate its entire subjugation. Unable to oppose him in the field, the Scots every where submitted to his authority. He penetrated deep into the north, even Caithness having been visited by his detachments; and the only resistance he met with was from the castle of Brechin, which was bravely defended by Sir Thomas Maule, until that gallant castellan was killed by a stone discharged from an engine*. In this northern expedition, Edward seems only to
20 Sept. have reached Kinloss in Moray: Thence the unopposed conqueror returned southwards, and wintered at Dunfermline†. In the course of this bloodless, but decisive campaign, the Earl of Carrick was among the first of the great Scots barons who submitted to the victor, having surrendered himself to John de St John, one of the English commanders ‡.

1304. Stirling castle still remained in the hands of the Scots; and Cumyn assembled all the forces he could muster for its defence, taking post on the south bank of the Forth near that place; fondly imagining that Edward might rashly attempt to force the passage, as Cressingham had done on a former occasion. But

* M. Westm. 440. † Langtoft, II. 321.
‡ Ryley, 369.

Edward, a more experienced and more sagacious commander, discovered a ford at some distance from the Scots camp, by which he crossed the river unopposed. The Scots army immediately dispersed; and Cumyn, with his remaining adherents, submitted to the clemency of the conqueror *.

A. D. 1304.

9 Feb.

Lenity was extended to all, under various modifications of penalty; excepting only to Wallace, who, under every vicissitude of fortune, had never submitted. By the conditions of the capitulation accorded to Cumyn, which appears to have been transmitted to Wallace, that intrepid hero was required to surrender at the will and mercy of Edward †. The familiar friends of Wallace endeavoured to persuade him to submit like the rest of his countrymen; and a message is said to have been sent to him by Edward, offering him the possession of high rank and ample riches if he would become his liege man. But Wallace resolutely declared that he would never submit ‡. Simon Frazer, likewise, though he had formerly submitted to the exigency of the times, refused to surrender at this time. Wal-

* A. of S. I. 304. † Ryley, 370. ‡ Ford. XII. iii.

A. D. 1304. 9 Feb. lace and he ineffectually endeavoured to rouse their countrymen again to arms; and, finding this impossible, they attempted to conceal themselves from the vengeance of Edward;
Mar. having been both proclaimed traitors and outlaws, in a Scots parliament which Edward convened at St Andrews *.

About this period died Robert Bruce, son of the competitor, and former Earl of Carrick; and Edward gave seisin of the lordship of Annandale to his son Robert, who had been a considerable time possessed of the earldom of Carrick †.

The castle of Stirling continued to make a gallant but useless defence; but, at length, Sir William Oliphant, the governor, was con-
20 July. strained to surrender at discretion ‡, five months after the entire submission of the rest of Scotland.

1305. With mean and cowardly anxiety, Edward sought to discover the retreat of Wallace, the only Scotsman who had never made submission to his usurped authority. He was at length discovered, and led a prisoner into
23 Aug. England; was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor, and was executed with every circum-

* Trivet. 338. † A. of S. I. 308.
‡ Foed. Angl. II. 951.

stance of ignominy *. But his name will ever remain in the grateful remembrance of his country, as the most distinguished of her patriotic sons, and the bravest of her heroes. 1305, 23 Aug.

A ridiculous tale has attributed his discovery and seizure to the treachery of his *friend* Sir John de Menteith †. He was in the interest and employment of Edward, and could not be the friend of Wallace, neither could he betray any trust in apprehending him. It is possible, however, that he may have been indebted to the treachery of others for the discovery of Wallace. Perhaps the whole origin of the evil fame of Menteith, on this occasion, arose from Wallace having been committed to the castle of Dunbarton, of which Menteith had the command.

The victorious Edward now proceeded, as he fondly hoped, to frame a final settlement of the government of Scotland as a conquered country. In forming his arrangements for that purpose, he employed the councils of Wisheart bishop of Glagow, and of Sir John de Mowbray. Even Bruce, by his late seasonable submission, was so much restored to favour as to be consulted on this occasion.

* A. of S. I. 310. † Ford. XII. viii.

A. D. 1305. In pursuance of the plan which was then devised for the establishment of Scotland under the English domination, and in a Scots parliament held at Perth, Edward commanded the 23 Sept. election of two bishops, two abbots or priors, two earls, two barons, and two for the commons: which ten members of the legislature were to constitute a commission having parliamentary powers, and were ordered to attend upon the king at London; where, in conjunction with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, they were to form a board or council, with full legislative authority to establish regulations for the future government of, and the administration of justice in Scotland *.

During this period of Scots history, only three Scotsmen have had their names handed down, as any way celebrated in literature,—Michael Scot, John of Dunse, and Thomas Learmonth.

* Ryley, 503.

Michael Scot, known among the learned under the title of the Mathematician, and by the vulgar as the *warlock* or magician, was born at Balwearie in Fife, the seat of his family, at the close of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century. After receiving the first part of his education in Scotland, perhaps in the monastery of St Andrews, he went to Oxford, and from thence to Paris. The fame of his learning procured him an invitation to the court of Frederick II. emperor of Germany, the greatest patron of learning in Europe of that age. Under this honourable patronage, in 1230, he published a translation of the physical and mathematical works of Aristotle, and of some of his best commentators, which he dedicated to his illustrious patron. This performance is said to have first occasioned that high admiration of Aristotles writings, and that profound submission to his authority, which so long prevailed in western Europe, to the exclusion of sound induction from observation and experiment. Besides these studies, he spent much time in the vain and falacious reveries of astrology and alchemy; on both of which subjects he published voluminous works. He must, accordingly, have been conversant in the sciences of mathema-

tics, physic, astronomy, and chemistry, so far as then known.

After the death of his imperial patron, in 1250, he returned to his native country; where he is said to have died at a very advanced age in 1290. Whether he may have been the Sir William Scot, who was sent to Norway in 1290, as one of the commissioners for conducting Queen Margaret into Scotland, does not certainly appear; but he may have been selected on that occasion, from his high reputation in the physical sciences, perhaps more especially from his reputed astrological skill.

John Duns Scotus, long famous under the singular appellation of the subtile doctor, was obviously a native of the town of Dunse in Berwickshire, in Scotland. He appears to have been born about 1265. When very young, he entered into a monastery of Franciscans at Newcastle, whence he was sent to prosecute his studies at Merton college in the university of Oxford; where he made great progress in acquiring all the sciences then cultivated. He particularly excelled in logical subtleties; acquired great proficiency in natural and moral philosophy, or physics and metaphysics; and made rapid progress in the

civil and canon laws, and the intricacies of the school divinity. He acquired a fellowship in his college; and was advanced, in 1301, to the university professorship of theology. By command of the general of his order, he removed to Paris in 1304, for the express purpose of defending his own newfangled doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, which he performed with great applause. He was sent on the same mission to Cologne in 1308, by his general Gonsalvo; where he was received with great honour, but died soon after his arrival, 8th November 1308, in his forty-fourth year, or, according to some, only in his thirty-fourth. His works have been often printed, and were long considered as standards in the schools. The edition of Lyons, in 1639, extending to twelve huge folios, is reckoned the most complete.

Thomas Learmonth of Ercildon, now Earlston, in the western extremity of Berwickshire, usually known by the name of Thomas the Rymer, likewise flourished in the reign of Alexander III. He has been chiefly celebrated as the supposed author of many ridiculous prophesies fabricated in his name in after times. But a metrical romance, called Sir Tristrem, of his composition, long considered

as lost, has been lately published, and is probably the earliest production of the Scots muse now extant; perhaps the earliest remaining specimen of the low-country language of Scotland, which may be termed the Scoto-Saxon. It cannot, indeed, be considered as composed in the dialect used by the vulgar; but as of the highest polished and ornamented poetical style, according to the prevailing taste of the times. The following short extract, therefore, is given as an example of the higher language and most artificial versification of the age of Alexander III. The elegy on the death of that sovereign may be considered as an example of the more simple and natural style of the same period. The annexed extract is taken without selection; and an explanation or paraphrase is subjoined, to make it intelligible to the modern reader.

> " Tristrem! thi * rede thou ta †,
> In Inglond for to abide.
> Morgan is wick ‡ to slo §;
> Of knightes he hath gret pride.
> Tristrem! thei || thou be thro ¶,
> Lat mo ** men with the ride,
> On rowe ††."—P. 44. St. 71.

* The council. † Take. ‡ Valiant.
§ Slay. || Though. ¶ Courageous, obstinate.
** More. †† Row, rank, military order.

Tristrem! the advice thou take, (take thou)
To remain in England.
Morgan is valiant in slaughter; (battle)
He hath great power of knights.
Tristrem! though thou be courageous,
Take more men in thy company,
In rank.

The following elegiac sonnet, on the death of Alexander III. is presumed to have been composed during the distractions of Scotland immediately subsequent to that event; and has been preserved in the *Orygynale Cronykil* of Scotland, composed by Andrew Winton prior of Lochleven, about the year 1420.

"Quhen * Alysander oure king wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le †,
Away wes sons of ale and brede
Of wyne and wax ‡, of gamyn and gle §:

Oure golde wes changyt into lede.
Christ! born into virgynité,
Succour Scotland and remede,
That stad ‖ us in perplexité."

These are given as specimens of the earliest remaining performances in the language of

* When. † Ruled in love and peace. ‡ Probably a contraction for wassel or sweet cake used at entertainments. § Joy and merriment. ‖ For we stand, or are in a state of.

the low country of Scotland; and it surely is a singular circumstance, that this ancient Scots dialect should be much nearer the modern English idiom than the dialect used in England at the same period. That latter dialect seems to have been a kind of bastard Anglo-Saxon jargon, used only by the vulgar, and scarcely understood by the higher ranks, with whom the Norman-French continued to be spoken down to the close of the fourteenth century. The following is part of the preamble of a charter by Henry III. in 1258, in the then vulgar English; and is utterly unintelligible to the modern reader without a full interpretation; whereas the oldest Scots, after a little practice in the antiquated orthography, and by the aid of a glossary for obsolete words, is perfectly easy to be understood.

"Henry, thurg Godes fultome, king on Engleneloande, Louoard on Yreloande, &ca. send I greting, to alle hise holde, illærde and ilewede on Huntingdown-shire. Thæt witen ge wel alle, thæt we willen and unnen, thæt ure rædesmen, alle other the moare del of heom, thæt beoth jchosen thurg us and thurg thæt loandesfolk on ure kuneriche, habbith idon, and schullen don," &ca.—In English,

Henry, through Gods support King of England, Lord of Ireland, &c. sendeth greeting,

to all his lieges, learned and unlearned *, of Huntingtonshire. This wit ye all well, that we will and grant, what our councillors, or the major part of them that be chosen through us, and through the landfolk † of our kingdom, have done, and shall do, &c.

SECTION VII.

Digression respecting the Metrical Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace, by Blind Harry; with notices of some still subsisting Traditions concerning the Champion of Scotland.

In a regular deduction of historical events, to have referred in any respect to a performance so manifestly fabulous as the metrical work respecting Wallace, ascribed to a blind minstrel named Henry or Harry, were highly reprehensible and absurd. Yet thus at a side, and no way contributing to the direct narra-

* Clergy and laity.

† Freeholders.

tive, some notice of that strange work may be allowed. But, before even guardedly quoting any part of that fabulous work, the following character of it, by Lord Hailes, may serve as a complete antidote against its fictions and absurdities.

" The atchievements of Wallace by Blind Harry has long been a popular work in Scotland. It would be labour lost to search for the age, name, and condition, of an author who either knew not history, or who meant to falsify it *. A few examples may suffice to prove the spirit of this romance. He always speaks of Aymer de Valloins, or Vallence, Earl of Pembroke, as a false Scottish knight. He mentions Sir Richard Lundin as one of Wallaces coadjutors at the battle of Stirling; whereas he certainly was of the opposite party, and indeed was, to all appearance, the only man of judgment in the whole English army. He says †, that one Sir Hugh, sisters son of Edward I. went in the disguise of a herald to Wallaces camp, was detected, and instantly beheaded. That Wallace surprised Edwards army at Biggar, and with his own hand slew the Earl of Kent. That many

* M'Kenzie, Sc. Writ. I. 422. † Blind Harry, VI. iv.

thousands of the English fell in the engagement; particularly the second son of the King of England, his brother Sir Hugh, and his two nephews *."

It is with much deference that a slight oversight in the foregoing quotation is here noticed. In the black letter edition of Blind Harry consulted on the present occasion, Sir Aymer de Vallange, sometimes Vallance, is never called a Scots knight. He is termed false traitor †, subtile tyrant ‡, tyrant knight and false §; but no where is his country mentioned. In one passage, indeed, there may be some slight colour for supposing that Blind Harry considered Vallange as a Scotsman: On leaving Scotland, he is said to have

"Thus his own land forsook for evermore ‖."

Yet, only two lines before, Aymer is expressly said to have quitted Bothwell, the heritage of Moray; so that his *own* land can only mean the estate which had become his, and which he now abandoned. These obser-

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* A. of S. I. 269. † Bl. H. III. ii. 9.
‡ Id. VI. iii. 49. § VI iv. 357.
‖ VII. vii. 63.

vations, however, have not the smallest tendence to remove from the miserable performance of Blind Harry, all the notoriety of falsehood so justly attributed by Lord Hailes.

Were it possible to affix the smallest faith to any of the advancements of a so very notorious fabulist, we might learn from Blind Harry, that a Latin life of Wallace was composed by John Blair clerk, assisted by Thomas Gray parson of Libberton *. This John Blair is said to have been at school with Wallace *at home*, or in Scotland; and to have lived in Paris, "Among masters of science and renown †;" or to have studied at the university of Paris. If such a performance were actually composed by learned contemporaries, and in the spirit of truth, its recovery would give the world a most valuable historical muniment. But if, as the rhymster insinuates, the metrical raphsody were really supplied with its fables from that composition, it must have been the ridiculous fabrication of some Boece or Veremund, and we already have enough of it in an appendix to the romance in question.

In various passages of Blind Harry, John Blair is said to have been attendant on Wal-

* Bl. H. V. i. 523. † Id. V. i. 533.

lace, and employed as a confidential messenger between him and his friends. In one passage he is praised for his deeds of arms, and his modest silence respecting these in his own work *. In a subsequent passage, a few lines afterwards, is the following: " I Thomas Gray was then priest to Wallace †." From this it might be inferred, that the rhymster was disposed to assume a character of some respectability; though the performance, if actually by Thomas Gray, certainly did not proceed from a minister of truth. It is, however, highly probable that the pronoun *I*, here prefixed to the name of Thomas Gray, may have been an error in transcription for *Sr.* the common ancient denomination of a parson, as a corruption of Sieur, the then translation of Dominus, our modern master.

According to Blind Harry, the parentage of Wallace was honourable, and his connexions numerous and respectable. His father, Sir Malcolm, he terms second *oye*, or great-grandson of a Wallace who acquired renown, " When Walter heir of Wales fraw Warayn fought ‡." The allusion here to some

* Bl. H. IX. vi. 116. † Id. IX. vi. 121.
‡ Id. I. i. 30.

real or fictitious piece of history, as coming from such an author, does not merit consideration or inquiry. Yet it may be observed, that the first of the Wallace family, Richard Wallense of Riccard-tun, got his land from Walter Fitz-Alan the first Stewart; and that Alan, father of Walter and son of Flaad, married the daughter of Warine sheriff of Shropshire, on the borders of Wales, soon after the Norman conquest*. Walter was a partizan of the empress Maude, who was supported by David I. and Walter probably followed David into Scotland after the unsuccessful siege of Winchester in 1141; and Richard Walays was probably one of the military followers of Walter†. But the blundering nonsense in the above quoted line only shews several coincidences without any regular knowledge of history.

Sir Malcolm Wallace is said to have possessed the lands of Ellerslie, Auchinbothie, and others; for which, and his descent, Blind Harry quotes a performance under the title of "The First Line of the First Stewart‡." He reports the mother of Wallace to have been daughter of Sir Rannald Crawford, he-

* Caledon. I. 573. † Id. 575. ‡ Bl. H. I. i. 34.

ritable sheriff of Ayr; for which circumstance he quotes the authority of the chronicle of Conus *. Both of these performances are now unknown. Of this marriage, William the renowned champion of Scots freedom was the second son, there having been an elder son Malcolm †. From other passages, there must have been a daughter or daughters, as will appear in the sequel. Two uncles of the name of Wallace are mentioned. Sir Richard Wallace of Richardtown ‡, who had three sons, Adam, Richard, and Simon. The christian name of the other uncle, who was parson of Dunipace, and very rich, is not mentioned. It is said in the Scotichronicon, that an uncle who was a priest, strongly inculcated on William the following sentence in monkish Latin, desiring him to preserve it in his memory as the invariable guide of his life.

> Dico tibi verum, libertas est optima rerum:
> Nunquam servili, sub nexu vivite fili §.

A cousin Wallace in Auchincraff ||, and one Wallace ¶, son-in-law of Thomas Halliday,

* Bl. H. I. i. 37. † Id. ib. ‡ Id. I. v. 153.
§ Ford. XII. iii. || Bl. H. II. i. 75.
¶ Id. VI. iv. 197.

who was the nephew of Wallace*, are noticed as relations of the family. His maternal grandfather, Sir Rannald Crawford, has been already noticed. His son, Sir Rannald, likewise sheriff of Ayr, the uncle of Wallace, is said to have lived at Corsby †. Another uncle is mentioned as aged and having a good living at Kilspindie in Gowrie ‡. But whether paternally or maternally related does not appear. Crawford of Auchinleck is said to have been the brother of his uncle Sir Rannald §. The list of his relations might be considerably augmented were researches in Blind Harry worth notice.

According to Blind Harry, Wallace married the daughter of Hugh Braidfoot of Lamyngton; by whom he had a daughter, who married one Squire Shaw, and from whom several very respectable people were descended ‖. From better authority, it appears that Wallace had no legitimate child; and that his natural daughter married Sir William Baillie of Hoprig, the progenitor of the Baillies of Lamington ¶. In corroboration of this, it

* Bl. H. V. ii. 162. † Id. I. v. 115. ‡ Id. I. iv. 36.
§ Id. V. i. 469. ‖ Id. VI. i. & VII. ii.
¶ Caledon. I. 579.

may be remarked, that there are still remains of a castle or peel at Lamington, which was built by an ancient proprietor named Baillie; and a remarkably broad and strong built oaken chair, still called Wallaces chair, is preserved in the house of Bonnington, now the mansion of the Lamington estate, to which it was removed by Lady Ross Baillie, the representative of that ancient family, and probably the lineal representative of the champion of Scotland *.

It is believed that Wallace actually enjoyed the estate of Ellerslie; which went, after his decease, to the Wallaces of Riccard-tun as his nearest male-heirs, and long continued in the Wallace family †. Yet, in the Scotichronicon, his elder brother, there named Andrew, is said to have possessed the family estate, which descended to his posterity ‡.

The chronology of Blind Harry is confused beyond all example, and absurd in the extreme. He avers that Wallace was yet a child when Scotland was *lost* §. Whereas, almost at the end of the performance, he says that the hero was forty-five years old when he was

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. VI. 557. † Caledon. I. 579.
‡ Ford. XI. xxviii. § Bl. H. I. iv. 31.

sold to the English *. The first conquest of Scotland by Edward was in 1296; at which time Wallace must have been thirty-six years of age, if forty-five when he fell into the hands of the English in 1305. Supposing the rhymster to have meant the assumption of paramount power by Edward, in 1291, as the *loss* of Scotland, Wallace must then have been thirty-one years old. If even we go back to 1286, the death of Alexander III. and the cause of all the woes of Scotland, as the period meant by Harry, Wallace must then have been twenty-six years of age; and the era of his childhood and youth must be removed to the tranquil period of the reign of Alexander III. when Scotland enjoyed prosperity and peace.

According to Blind Harry, as quoted in the border history, but so inaccurately that the reference cannot be verified, the stature of Wallace is said to have been nine quarters of a Scots ell, or six feet eleven inches and a quarter; and the breadth of his shoulders almost twenty-eight inches †. This agrees with the description of him in the Scotichronicon, where he is said to have been tall in stature

* Bl. H. XII. xiii. 207. † Bord. Hist. 204.

and of gigantic bulk, with broad shoulders, large bones, full chest, broad loins, strong arms and legs, and extremely strong and well knit in all his joints *.

Blind Harry says that, at the first conquest of Scotland, Sir Malcolm Wallace and his eldest son fled into Lenox; while William and his mother took refuge with the uncle at Kilspindie, whence Wallace went to attend school at Dundee †. It is hardly necessary to observe that Wallace was in arms early in 1297; and became that very year the victorious general of the Scots, and the successful invader of England. In a different place, Sir Malcolm and his eldest son are said to have been slain by the English at Loudon hill; at which place William afterwards avenged their death, by the slaughter of Knight Fenwick and an hundred Englishmen, who were leading a convoy from Carlisle for Percy the English governor of Ayr ‡.

The first exploit of Wallace, as related by Blind Harry, was when attending Dundee school. The son of Selbie, constable of Dundee for Edward, taunted the young hero as

* Ford. XI. xxviii. † Bl. H. I. iv. 36.
‡ Id. III. i. 100.

too well dressed for a Scot, and attempted to wrest from him a knife or dagger which he wore; and with which Wallace slew his saucy antagonist. By the connivance of a friendly old dame, Wallace was concealed from the search of the English, and his gigantic body was disguised in female attire to facilitate his escape *. The first action of Wallace is very differently related in the Scotichronicon: "In the year 1297 arose the renowned William Wallace, the scourge of the English......Almost in the very commencement of his military career, he slew a certain strong English knight, and powerful man in arms, William de Hesliope sheriff of Lanerk. From that time, all who were exasperated by the oppression and intollerable servitude of the English domination flocked to him, and he became their commander. Wallace possessed admirable fortitude and bravery; was of most engaging manners, and unbounded liberality," &c. †.

Not intending to expatiate on the life and actions of Sir William Wallace, however worthy of being minutely recorded, the foregoing notices from Blind Harry appear sufficient for the present purpose. But before closing this

* Bl. H. I. v.

† Ford. XI. xxviii.

digression, some local traditionary remembrances of the Scots champion, which are scattered through the volumes of the Statistical Account of Scotland, have been deemed worthy of being here collected. Several of these may have originated from the work of Blind Harry, long popular among the common people of Scotland.

In the Knockwood, in the parish of Kirkmichael and shire of Dumfries, are the remains of a small fort or entrenchment, called Wallaces house, said to have been thrown up by that hero, after he had slain Sir Hugh de Moreland and five of his men, at a place in that neighbourhood still named the *Sax Corses*, or six corpses, in allusion to that event *.

On the banks of the Nith, in the parish of Penpont and shire of Dumfries, are the ruins of a large building named Tibers castle, in which the English are said to have had a garrison in the time of Sir William Wallace, who took it from them by surprize †.

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. I. 63. The *Sax Corses* more probably signify six crosses, in allusion to some religious monument so decorated, or having a coat armorial with that bearing.

† Id. I. 209.

In the parish of Galston, shire of Ayr and district of Kyle, at a place named Beg, near Allinton, tradition relates, that Sir William Wallace, having entrenched himself and fifty followers in a rude species of fortification, obtained a complete victory over an English officer named Fenwick, who had two hundred men under his command. The Scots hero is said to have had several places of retirement in this neighbourhood, some of which still retain his name; as Wallace-hill, an eminence near the Galla-law; and a hollow glen in the parish of Lowdon, called Wallace-gill, to which he probably retired for concealment, when pursued by his enemies *.

On a hill named Couth-boan-law, or Quothquan-law, in the parish of Libberton and shire of Lanerk, the country people still point out a large rough stone scooped out in the middle, called Wallaces chair, from which he is said to have addressed his followers before the supposed battle of Biggar †.

In the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace in Stirlingshire, are the remnants of the Torwood, once an extensive forest; in the middle of which the vestiges of an oak tree

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. II. 74. † Id. II. 235.

still remain, which, when entire, is said to have measured thirty-six feet round. To this wood Wallace is said to have frequently retired when pursued by his enemies, and to have secreted himself in the hollow trunk of this oak, which is still dignified by the name of Wallaces tree. It stands in the middle of a swampy piece of ground, having a causeway round its ruins; and its destruction has been much precipitated by the veneration in which the Scots hero has been long held; numerous pieces having been carried off, to convert into various memorials of the champion of Scotland *.

At Airth, in Stirlingshire, there still remains an old tower or castle, in good repair, forming a part of the mansion-house of Airth, and which continues to bear the name of Wallaces tower †.

In the Duke of Argyles park, at Roseneath in Dunbartonshire, there is a remarkable rock or precipice, about thirty-four feet in perpendicular height, which bears evident marks of having been formerly washed by the sea, though now at a considerable distance from the shore. This rock is still called Wallaces

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. III. 336. † Id. III. 493.

lowp, or leap, from a tradition that, closely pursued by a party of his enemies, Wallace leapt down from this rock on horseback, and escaped unhurt. His horse, however, was killed by the fall, and his grave is still pointed out at the foot of the rock *.

At Riccard-tun, or Richards town, in the parish of that name, and shire of Ayr, no vestiges now remain of the dwelling-place of the Wallace family; yet the remembrance of it is still preserved by tradition, and the place where it formerly stood is still known and pointed out †.

On one of the hills above Wandel, in the parish of Lamington and shire of Lanerk, there are the remains of some trenches still called Wallaces camp ‡.

The castle of Lochmaben, in the parish of that name, county of Dumfries, and district of Annandale, is said to have been the scene of some of the heroic atchievements of Wallace; but none of these are particularized by the reverend reporter §.

At Robroyston, in the parish of Cadder and shire of Lanerk, Wallace is said to have been

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. IV. 72.
† Id. VI. 117.
‡ Id. VI. 557.
§ Id. VII. 238.

betrayed and apprehended by Sir John Menteith, 11th September 1305. After he was overpowered, but before his hands were bound, he is said to have thrown his sword into Robroyston loch, or lake. An oak cupple or joist, belonging to the barn in which he was taken, is still shewn in that neighbourhood as a memorial or relic of the great Wallace, and may yet last for ages *.

On the west side of Clatto-moor, in the parish of Strathmartin and county of Forfar, there are the traces of a camp which is generally believed to have been occupied by part of the Roman army under Agricola, and afterwards successively by King Alpin, Sir William Wallace, and General Monk. Tradition bears that Wallace pitched his camp on Clatto hill, and grinded his corn at Philaw-mill, which is about half a mile from the remaining traces of this camp †.

At Lanerk, according to Fordun, Wallace began his military career in 1297, by slaying William de Hesliope the English sheriff. According to the tradition of the town, Wallace inhabited a house at the head of the Castle-

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. VIII. 482. † Id. XIII. 99.

gate, opposite the church, where a new house has been lately built; the same tradition adds, that his house had a subterranean communication with Cartlane Craigs, at some considerable distance; but this is utterly incredible *.

The parish of Gargunnock, in Stirlingshire, preserves two remembrances of the fame of Wallace. The Peel of Gargunno or Gargunnock, a small castle garrisoned by the English which Wallace took by stratagem in the night, accompanied by a very small number of followers, while the English were off their guard. The curious stranger may still be conducted to the spot where this peel once stood, but of which scarcely a stone now remains. A little westwards from the village of Gargunnock, on a conical eminence called the *Keir-hill*, are the remains of a circular ditch and rampart, which appears to have been the place whence Wallace sallied forth on the night when he took the Peel of Gargunnock †.

About a quarter of a mile westwards from the Peel of Gargunnock, the remains of the bridge of Offers are still perceptible, by which Wallace is said to have crossed the Forth on

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. XV. 32. † Id. XVIII. 117.

his way to take shelter in the moss of Kincardine*.

In the parish of Duddingstone, and shire of Edinburgh, a place now called the Figget Whins, formerly a forest, is said by tradition to have afforded shelter and rendezvous to Wallace and his myrmidons, when preparing to attack Berwick †.

On the face of the hill of Kinnoul, and in a steep part of the rock, there is a cave called the Dragons Hole, in which tradition says that Wallace hid himself for some time while under the necessity of absconding ‡.

In the parish of Longforgan, and shire of Perth, there resided in 1794 a weaver named Smith, to whom belonged a hollow stone or mortar, called a bear-stone, or knocking-stone, and used for unhusking barley, to convert it into a coarse species of pot-barley. This gets the name of Wallaces stone from the following traditional tale. When Wallace fled from Dundee, after killing the English governors son, he sat down to rest on this stone, which stood at the cottage-door, and was hospitably refreshed with bread and

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. XVIII. 90. † Id. ib. 377.
‡ Id. XVIII. 560.

milk by the good woman of the house. From that kind matron, the present inhabitant is lineally descended, and his ancestors have continued to inhabit the same spot for above five hundred years *.

In the parish of Greenock and county of Renfrew, several rivulets, in descending from precipitous rocky hills to fall into the Clyde, form fine cascades, appearing from the shore like wreaths of snow ; and behind the largest of these, people may easily walk between the rock and the falling water. The principal cascade in this place bears the name of Wallaces linn ; perhaps because he may have once hidden himself there from his enemies.

"How many monuments, far more durable than statutes or columns, has grateful posterity bestowed throughout Scotland on this distinguished friend of liberty! In this part of the country, steep precipices, high falls of water, huge rocks, and Roman stations or encampments, not unfrequently bear the venerated name of the renowned Wallace †."

End of the Introduction.

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. XIX. 561. † Id. V. 566.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

ROBERT I.

Sirnamed the BRUCE,

KING OF SCOTS.

FROM HIS ACCESSION, 27TH MARCH 1306;
TO HIS DEMISE, 7TH JUNE 1329.

A ! Fredome is a noble thing !
*Fredome mayss * man to haiff liking † !*
Fredome all solace to man giffis ;
He levys at ese that frely levys !
A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
Na ellys nocht ‡ that may him plese,
Gyff Fredome failyhe §.

THE BRWYSE, I. 225.—231.

* Makes. † Delight. ‡ Nor any thing else. § Fail.

HISTORY OF ROBERT I.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF ROBERT I. SIRNAMED THE BRUCE: FROM HIS CORONATION, 27TH MARCH 1306; TO HIS DEMISE, 7TH JUNE 1329.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Reflections on the Pretensions of Robert Bruce to the Throne of Scotland, at the close of the year 1305.

IT has been endeavoured, in the introduction to this work, to give a clear, yet condensed review of the series of events through which the ancient and independent kingdom of Scotland became subjected to the authority of Edward I. of England: At first by means of a groundless claim of feudal supremacy, in- A. D. 1305.

A. D. 1305. sidiously advanced under peculiar circumstances; and, in the sequel, by the manifest usurpation of direct dominion. The various steps have been succinctly traced through which he succeeded in the accomplishment of both these ambitious aud unjust attempts; after a long and arduous contest, and the incessant labour of nineteen years of craft, dissimulation, injustice, and violence, with great effusion of blood, and much waste of treasure. The definitive arrangements which he adopted, for establishing the dependant government of this great and important acquisition upon a stable foundation, as they were merely transitory, have been only cursorily noticed. By means of these he fondly imagined that he had effectually secured the permanent subjection of Scotland to the English crown: But, within a few months, this lofty fabric of his long and strenuously exerted ambition, was unexpectedly assailed; and, in the sequel, was speedily and totally overthrown. The principal object of this work now remains; in which it is proposed to trace the causes and to narrate the events which led to the sudden and entire subversion of that usurped domination, and the complete restoration of Scots independence, under the

guidance of the heroic Robert I. the glorious deliverer of his country from thraldom. A. D. 1305.

In the former division of this work, the grandfather of Robert Bruce was seen unsuccessfully endeavouring to establish his pretensions to the vacant throne of Scotland, and quietly acquiescing in the elevation of his more fortunate rival. During all the subsequent events, the son of the competitor appears to have submitted, uniformly and implicitly, to the superior ascendancy of Edward, without offering the slightest resistance to any of his ambitious usurpations and unjust assumptions. His son, the young Earl of Carrick, grandson of the competitor, changing with the varied fortunes of his country, sometimes appeared in arms among the defenders of Scots independence; while, on other occasions, yielding to the necessity of uncontrollable circumstances, he reluctantly submitted to the successful usurpation of the King of England, and repeatedly swore fealty to him as the direct sovereign of Scotland. We have now to view him in a far more exalted character, nobly asserting and reclaiming the liberties and imperial independence of his enslaved country, and bravely and successfully contending in arms for the possession of

A. D. 1305. its throne, to which the deposition and abdication of the rival of his family had opened fresh pretensions and a new prospect.

The strange versatility of Bruces conduct, under all the arduous circumstances of the times which have been already reviewed, may perhaps be justified and accounted for, on the supposition of continual and deep attention to the grand object of the ambition of his family; in the contemplation of which his grandfather appears to have been occupied ever since the accession of Alexander III. in in 1249. From his infancy, Bruce would assuredly be nurtured in the full persuasion that his family possessed a clear right to the throne; and he must have viewed the advancement of the rival house with infinite dissatisfaction, which would be represented to him as a violent and unjust usurpation upon his own rights of apparency.

After the downfal of the Baliol race, and during all the subsequent struggles for the subjugation and for the independence of Scotland, he may be supposed to have anxiously and continually watched for the appearance of some favourable occasion to assert the claims of his family to the crown; which must have constituted the perpetual and ultimate object

of all his hopes, and the leading, though carefully concealed, principle of all his actions. A. D. 1305. Besides, as his father lived till the year 1304, and chose to submit to the domination of the King of England, he was precluded from any personal advancement of a claim upon the throne down almost to the present period; and, having been a member of the Scots regency in the name of the deposed and abdicated John, he certainly had no favourable opportunity for bringing forward his family pretensions, in opposition to those which he had thus in a great measure engaged to support, until after the overthrow of that regency, at the very period to which we are now arrived.

During all the preceding troubles, Bruce had cautiously avoided to commit his own fortunes, and the safety of his house and its adherents to the hazard of utter destruction, by embarking too deeply in any of the operations of the war, either for or against the rival of his family. In the course of these disastrous events, he must have seen, with full but secret complacency, the opposing parties mutually wasting their strength and resources in the protracted contest: Both that of Cumyn and the other adherents of Baliol on

A. D. 1305. the one part, and the partizans of the King of England on the other, were equally hostile to his hopes and pretensions.

In the mean while, he so prudently conducted his proceedings as not to ruin himself entirely in the estimation of Edward, by any rancorous display of opposition to his authority, when acting on the side of the Scots; carrying on those operations of the war in which he was employed in a languid manner, as if compelled to assume that side from the circumstances of the times, and not acting from inclination; and he carefully endeavoured to recover the favour of the King of England by early submission, whenever the events of the war turned materially adverse to Scotland. Neither did he render himself altogether odious to the Scots nation, whom he hoped one day to rule over, by continually supporting the English usurpation; as he always joined with the Scots party whenever any favourable opportunity seemed to offer for the recovery of their liberties. Yet, with all this prudent foresight and sagacious caution, his conduct at the last, when he actually grasped at the crown, appears to have been rash, precipitate, and unadvised; but it was determined, resolute, and persevering; and he

ultimately prevailed over vastly superior power, and against infinitely greater resources than any which he could possibly calculate upon being able to bring into action. A. D. 1305.

In entering upon the consideration of the sudden and unexpected revolution which now took place in the apparently hopeless state of Scots affairs, we labour under very peculiar and even discouraging difficulties. Unfortunately, the remaining records of the times do not enable us, with any tolerable confidence of certainty, often not even with sufficient appearance of probability, to develope the causes, and to detail the regular train of events which so speedily and effectually overturned the domination, which Edward seemed to have established upon such secure foundations. In arranging the narrative of this most important era in our national story, even the critical skill and uncommon talent for patient and judicious research of Lord Hailes, were confessedly unable to penetrate the deep obscurity in which these transactions are involved. In the path where an inquirer, so sagacious and experienced, has proceeded with uncertainty and doubt, it were vain to presume upon a surer progress. The Scots and English historians, nearest to this moment-

A. D. 1305. ous period of our annals, are so inconsistent with each other, that it is often impossible to reconcile their discordant accounts; and both are frequently incompatible, in their relations of some material events, with the truth of otherwise well established facts*.

In this unpleasing state of dubiety, following the general tenor of the incomparable annals, as a sure guide through the mazes of this historical labyrinth, it is proposed to narrate all the circumstances which can now be ascertained as clearly as possible, so far as may be accomplished from the scanty sources of authentic information which yet remain: And these, as already observed, being contradictory and often irreconcilable, it appears necessary to report the opposing accounts in supplement to the selected narrative; and to intersperse such reflections as may assist to draw reasonable conclusions from the discrepant testimonies.

11 June. After the reduction and submission of Scotland, but before the final settlement of the plan for its future government, while Bruce was actually engaged, along with Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, in assisting Edward for

* A. of S. I. 318.

that purpose, he secretly entered into a bond of association and mutual league with William de Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, of which the following is the tenor *. A. D. 1305. 11 June.

"Be it remembered that, in the year of our Lord 1305, and on the day of the festival of the holy apostle Barnabas, 11th June, the Reverend Father in Christ, Lord William de Lamberton, by the grace of God bishop of St Andrews, and the noble Lord Robert earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, having met together at Cambuskenneth; and having conferred concerning future dangers, which they wish to avoid, and on purpose to resist their enemies as far as possible, by their conjunct prudent endeavours, they have therefore entered into a league of friendship, in manner following. They mutually engage that, in all their affairs, at all times, and against all persons whomsoever, they will faithfully consult together, and will give mutual assistance to each other, by themselves and their people, to the utmost of their power, and without guile: That neither of them shall engage in any arduous undertaking without consulting the other: That each, as early as possible, shall

* A. of S. I. 309. from M. S. Ancient Muniments.

A. D. 1305. 11 June: inform the other of any impending danger which may come to his knowledge, or shall cause him to be informed, and shall use his utmost endeavours to prevent the same. And, for the faithful performance of this engagement in all things, and without fraud or reservation, they bind themselves by a solemn oath, and under the penalty of ten thousand pounds, to be levied from the party failing in the premises, for the use of the Holy Land."

As printed by Lord Hailes, the date of this deed is made of the year 1304. But, in his excellent annals, it is placed under the year 1305; which date, being the obviously deliberate arrangement of his chronological series of events, is here adopted in preference, though the difference be of no material importance. If the latter date, as here presumed, be that on which this important compact was actually entered into, it distinctly shews that, amid all the seeming reconciliation of Bruce, and the apparently universal submission of the Scots nation to the authority and power of Edward, he, as well as others, only submitted for the time to the imperious necessity of irresistible circumstances; and, low as the fortunes of Scotland were then reduced, that some hope still remained among her loyal

sons, of seeing more prosperous days, for the attainment of which they were resolved to exert their utmost efforts on the first favourable opportunity. All had not despaired of their country. A. D. 1305. 11 June.

If dissimulation be at all defensible in the conduct of men, who ought in all things to be ever guided by the pure dictates of moral truth, it is under such circumstances as those to which Bruce and the other Scots patriots were now reduced, by the overwhelming power of Edward; who had trampled upon every right of the nation, and had totally disregarded all the privileges of individuals, so far at least as these interfered with the objects of his insatiable ambition. To have avowed their determination of endeavouring to recover their liberty, and that of their country, on the first favourable occasion, would have proved inevitably destructive to themselves, and must have compromised every possible hope of regaining the independence of their country, at least through their assistance.

Besides the general wisdom of securing the co-operation of the Bishop of St Andrews, as a prelate and baron of important power, even in a military capacity, all the estates of the

A. D. church being then occupied by military re-
1305. tainers, it may be noticed that his counte-
11 June. nance and assistance were of the utmost importance for Bruce and Scotland, in the contest which immediately followed. As head of the Scots church, Lamberton possessed great influence over the national clergy, then infinitely more able than now to lead and direct the conduct of the people in arduous political emergencies.

This salutary confederacy, with the head of the Scots church, unquestionably prevented the baneful effects of excommunication and interdict; which, without this aid, must have forced Bruce and his brave adherents, the patriotic defenders of the honour and independence of their country, to lay their swords and spears at the feet of Edward, almost without a contest. In those days, when the Pope was believed to hold the keys of heaven and hell, and when his interdict debarred all access to the sacraments of the church, without participating in which sinful men could not hope for pardon in the world to come, it would have been impossible for Bruce and Scotland to have resisted Edward in the circumstances which soon occurred. The soldier who fell unshriven under the direful ana-

thema of excommunication, was considered as dying in his sins. Even the social union of marriage, and the pleasing rite of baptism, were incapable of being performed during the subsistence of an acknowledged interdict, unless in the most lugubrous and distressing situations. A. D. 1305. 11 June.

History has evinced by various instructive examples, and by none more plainly than in that now alluded to, that though the Popes, when aided by the submission and co-operation of the national churchmen, could make even emperors crouch beneath their anathemas; their bulls, interdicts, and excommunications became altogether harmless, when the prelates and priests of the country, against which they were fulminated, happened to entertain a different opinion from the universal bishop and spiritual father of Christendom. The clergy were in the secret of the papal thunder, and knew it to be in itself harmless. It is not unlikely that, during the ensuing crisis, the bishop of St Andrews and his Scots suffragans or colleagues, were more alarmed at the prospect of being subjected to the spiritual supremacy of York or Canterbury, than for the temporal subjugation of their country

A. D. 1305. 11 June.

to the crown of England. Whatever may have been the motives of the clergy, it has been judiciously observed that Bruce owed his success more to the firm concurrence of the Scots church, than to the efforts of the nobles in his favour *. These reflections, though apparently introduced previous to the circumstances to which they principally refer, seem fully warranted by the consideration of the important compact which has occasioned their insertion.

Though no similar deed of association remain, as having been entered into by Bruce with any other person, it can hardly be doubted that this contract only formed one, though a most important link, in a chain of such bonds; not only concerted by Bruce with his peculiar friends, but that they likewise would use their utmost efforts to strengthen the party, by each endeavouring to negociate similar compacts with their individual friends and adherents. On this occasion, Lamberton would be able to employ a very powerful argument with his brethren, especially the inferior clergy, who looked for promotion to higher and richer benefices, by in-

* Caledon. I. 821.

sinuating the great probability, amounting almost to absolute certainty, that Edward, in the distribution of all church preferment in his new Scots dominions, would naturally seek to strengthen his own authority by invariably promoting his English subjects. Indeed, we shall afterwards find that Edward II. used his utmost but unavailing endeavours for influencing the Pope to refuse sanctioning the appointment of Scotsmen to benefices in Scotland; and on this very principle, that the Scots church fomented and cherished what he was pleased to represent as rebellion against his legitimate authority.

A. D. 1305. 11 July.

Before entering directly upon the consideration of the Scots revolution, it seems necessary to take some notice of the state of pretensions to the crown of Scotland, as modified by the events which have been already cursorily narrated in the preliminary portion of this work. No such discussion, indeed, appears to have been then entered into, so far as we can now learn from the imperfect remaining records of the times; yet there can be no doubt that it was keenly contested, among the adherents of the different leaders, and that it materially influenced the con-

A. D. 1306. duct of many of the Scots barons, especially at the commencement of the important contest.

By his pusillanimous but solemn renunciation of the Scots throne, John Baliol must be considered as having abdicated for himself and posterity. Although he then acted under violent constraint, he had now long recovered his personal liberty, and had been six years in France, without taking any steps whatever to reclaim his crown. He might have done this under protest, on the substantial plea of force having been employed to extort his renunciation. He had never given the smallest countenance, encouragement, or assistance to his faithful Scots subjects; who had exerted the most strenuous, though unavailing efforts of persevering bravery in his name, to recover their own rights and his prerogatives. Through the whole, therefore, of his conduct, ever since his deposition and abdication in 1296, he must be held as having abandoned every idea of ever reclaiming or recovering the throne, which he had virtually forfeited, abandoned, and abdicated.

The rights of a people, however, can never lapse by any length of time, however violently they may have been oppressed or over-

thrown, or however solemnly surrendered, in the moment of weakness, dismay, and constraint. They are in their nature unalienable, and can never antiquate; but must always remain reclaimable whenever circumstances admit, and the subjugated nation becomes able and inclined to re-assert its oppressed liberties and independence. This reasoning must always be limited to a case like that now under review, where the sacred liberties of a nation have been usurped upon by fraud and violence; and is by no means applicable where those liberties have been voluntarily, fairly, and reciprocally assimilated without disparagement, upon just and equal terms, along with the rights and liberties of another nation, by free and mutual compact and legal union. Any attempt to weaken or dissolve such fair and salutary connexion of reciprocal rights, interests, and duties, must necessarily be held seditious and treasonable against the honour and dignity both of the general government, or state, and of the people themselves.

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The ancient transactions between nations and sovereigns that were, or ought to have been independent of each other, cannot now

A. D. 1305. be judged by the rules of what is denominated public law, then hardly understood. Neither can the right of succession to the crown of Scotland in those days, be now investigated upon the precisely fixed principles of modern municipal jurisprudence; far less according to the rules of our present laws of succession, in regard to titles and estates. The vacant throne of Scotland was ready for being occupied by the first bold candidate who might acquire the confidence, and direct the efforts of the nation, for the recovery of its honour and independence.

On the supposition of John Baliol having been rightfully preferred to the throne at the competition, and in consequence of his subsequent renunciation, abdication, and abandonment, the rights descendible from Margaret, the eldest daughter of Earl David, may be considered as having now fallen to John Cumyn, usually known by the name of the younger of Badenoch; his mother having been the daughter of Dervorgil, and the sister of John Baliol. At least, such would be the unquestionable rule of legal substitution in our days, respecting indivisible inheritance descendible to or through females, and with regard to the throne itself.

But, in those days, no law for the settlement of the Scots throne existed; and that rule which had been formed for the occasion by Edward, in 1292, may be considered as virtually abrogated by the subsequent circumstances, and by the ruinous consequences which had accrued to Scotland from submitting to the arbitrament of that ambitious monarch. A. D. 1305.

By the decease of his father and grandfather, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, was now the direct representative of Isobella the second daughter of David earl of Huntington, and the incontrovertible inheritor of all the rights that ever had belonged to his grandfather the competitor. For him it might have been urged, that the award of Edward was contrary to the established rules and consuetude of royal succession in Scotland, and that Bruce the competitor ought to have been preferred as the *male* nearest in blood to the throne; because, according to all former examples in Scotland, he would certainly have been preferable to his cousin Dervorgil the mother of Baliol. The elevation of the Maiden of Norway, having been an exception from the ancient custom of Scots regal inheritance to serve a special pur-

A. D. 1305. pose, would be considered by the adherents of Bruce as no permanent alteration of the order of succession, and, therefore, not now pleadable against his pretensions.

During the important period of which a review has been attempted in the preliminary deduction; after the glorious spirit of freedom had been aroused by the prowess and heroism of the incomparable Wallace, Bruce and Cumyn had united for a time in apparent harmony, to assist in recovering the oppressed rights of their country. But the particular interests, views, and pretensions of these young, powerful, and ambitious chiefs were utterly irreconcilable, and altogether incompatible with any permanent amity, or reciprocal union of ultimate objects and designs. Besides their discordant claims or pretensions upon the vacant throne, which do not appear to have ever been publicly avowed or discussed, various causes of personal animosity subsisted between them and their families.

When the exiled John had exerted a momentary semblance of vigour, in 1296, to shake off his feudal dependence, the Bruce family had joined Edward I. against their own king and country. Their estates, therefore, had been justly forfeited; and Annandale was

granted to Cumyn earl of Buchan, the rash, inglorious, and incapable general of the Scots forces. At the fatal battle of Falkirk, in 1298, the young Earl of Carrick had kept aloof, although then on the side of the Scots; whether designedly, or with the approbation and consent of his coadjutors, cannot now be even conjectured, although the circumstances certainly appear suspicious. He afterwards accepted a share in the regency of Scotland, in conjunction with Cumyn; and so far concurred in the establishment and conduct of a temporary government of the divided and distracted country. Yet, even in this concert, he appears to have never acted with perfect cordiality, or was never fully trusted: For Cumyn always appears conspicuous, as the efficient head of that Scots administration, as the active governor of the country, and the chief commander of the armed force.

A. D. 1305.

In the course of the last disastrous campaign, Bruce saved himself from the violent resentment of Edward, by an early, seasonable, and separate submission and surrender; and so far ingratiated himself as to be received into favour, with the imposition of a moderate fine, which perhaps would never have been exacted; and was even confidentially

A. D. 1305. consulted in forming the arrangements for the final settlement of Scotland under the direct dominion of the King of England. Cumyn, on the contrary, continued to oppose the power of Edward, while even the smallest probability of successful resistance remained: And, when he at len th submitted to hard and inevitable necessity, he made the best conditions he could for himself and his immediate adherents, who were all subjected to heavy fines. In the late establishment of Scots affairs, his opinion and advice had never been required.

This marked difference, added to all the other causes of alienation, may be presumed to have occasioned great exacerbation of the jealousy and rivalship which subsisted between Bruce and Cumyn, as the heads of the two great parties into which the Scots were then divided; and may be supposed more especially to have rankled in the breast of the neglected and more severely punished Cumyn, against the favoured and more fortunate Bruce.

The secret association between Bruce and the Bishop of St Andrews has been already noticed as one in the highest probability of a series of similar deeds, which may be con-

sidered as having reference to a concerted plan for restoring the liberties of Scotland, and for placing Bruce upon the vacant throne. Neither does it appear any violent presumption to suppose that Cumyn, now the chief of the party in direct opposition to that of the Bruce family, may have formed and promoted a similar series of associations, among the adherents of the party which had long been attached to the family which he now represented; perhaps for the purpose of raising him to the regency, with a view to his afterwards succeeding to the throne. In their progress, the formation of these hostile associations may have reciprocally reached the knowledge of the two leaders, and would naturally contribute to widen the breach between them. A. D. 1305.

The secret motives, views, and intentions of these great rivals cannot be now ascertained. We only know that their discordant and irreconcilable interests soon produced a deadly quarrel, in which Cumyn lost his life; slain, according to every remaining account, by the hand of Bruce, or by his adherents. But the investigation of that tragical and mysterious event shall be made the separate object of the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Slaughter of John Cumyn of Badenoch at Dumfries, 10th February 1306; and immediately consequent Revolt of Robert Bruce.

A. D. 1306. AT the arrangement of the final plan for governing Scotland as an appendage to the crown of England, Edward divided the whole country into four large provinces or circles, appointing two justiciaries to each, for the ready administration of justice among his new subjects *. Galloway, one of these divisions, appears to have contained the modern shires of Wigton and Dumfries, with the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and the shire of Ayr †. Of this division, Roger de Kirkpatric a Scotsman, and Walter Burgheton or Broughton, an Englishman, were appointed justiciaries ‡. 10 Feb. In the month of February 1306, they held their sittings at Dumfries, attended by a numerous concourse of barons and freehold-

* Ryley, I. 503. † A. of S. I. 314. ‡ Ryley, I. 503.

ers from the shires under their jurisdiction *. As Lord of Annandale, Bruce was bound to give suit and presence in the kings court †. John Cumyn of Badenoch happened to be then at Dumfries, perhaps owing to the same cause; and thus these high spirited rivals chanced to meet ‡. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb

Bruce took occasion, from the numbers of the Scots nobility and gentry who were met together in attendance upon the justiciaries, to make an effort for rouzing his countrymen again to arms, that they might endeavour to throw off the degrading yoke of servitude which had been imposed upon them by Edward §. In a meeting which had been convened without the knowledge or participation of the justiciaries, he is said to have represented to them the injustice and indignity which their country and themselves were reduced to suffer, under the usurpation of the King of England; and he urgently called upon them, as brave men and Scots patriots, to redeem themselves and their posterity from tyranny and oppression, and to recover the liberties, honour, and independence of their enslaved

* Hemingf. I. 220. † A. of S. I. 323. ‡ Id. ib.
§ M. Westm. 453.

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country. He alleged, that the sacrifice of the rights of his own family to the crown, and the undue preference which had been accorded to Baliol in the competition, had paved the way for the subjugation of Scotland; and that by now reclaiming those rights which had devolved upon him, they would have a glorious opportunity for vindicating, restoring, and consolidating their ancient hereditary independence. He asserted, that all the late misfortunes had proceeded from disunion among the Scots nobles; and that, if they should now unite in supporting his just claims, as their rightful prince, they would soon again be as formidable to their enemies and oppressors, as their forefathers had been in ancient days. He recalled to their memories, the glorious and successful struggle of their ancestors; who, supported solely by their own valour, and aided by their rugged mountains and impervious forests, had preserved their liberties during so many ages against all the efforts of the Roman Empire. These natural fastnesses were still sufficient, if they would emulate the virtue and gallantry of their glorious progenitors, to defend them against the utmost power and violence of their tyrannical oppressor. It was derogatory to

the character, honour, and reputation of the nobles of a land so long accustomed to enjoy the most ancient independence which any European nation could boast of, to submit to the degradation of being ruled over by a foreign master, and must ultimately prove destructive to them all and to their families; as the English rulers, irritated by the long continued opposition which they had encountered in their reiterated efforts to subdue Scotland, and inflamed with the most rancorous animosity against all Scotsmen, would never consider themselves secure in the enjoyment of their usurped domination until they had exterminated all the ancient nobility of the country, and had transferred all the estates and dignities of the kingdom to Englishmen. He then urged his own rightful pretetensions to the throne of Scotland, which he was determined to prosecute by every means he could procure or put in motion; calling upon them to unite under his guidance in defence of the independence of their country, their own liberties and properties, and his just rights. He concluded by declaring, that he was come to live and die with them, in the glorious cause of their country; and was resolved to

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

A. D. 1306 10 Feb. atchieve the liberty of Scotland, or to perish in the attempt.

The Scots nobles were much impressed with the boldness and energy of this spirited address, and many declared their resolution to unite in seconding the glorious proposal which Bruce had submitted to them, with a firm resolution to assert his and their own just rights against all oppressors, and to exert their utmost efforts for delivering their country from bondage. Cumyn alone opposed this generous determination. He represented the utter impossibility of successful resistance against the great and overwhelming power and resources of England, under the conduct of a sovereign of such vigour and abilities; asserting that they would bring down the most assured destruction upon themselves, their families, and dependants, if they again violated their repeated oaths of fealty and allegiance to Edward. It is probable that he would likewise endeavour to controvert the claim which Bruce had urged to the crown; and would assert the right of the Baliol family, and his own contingent right of succession when they might become extinct, or if they should be ultimately set aside by the Scots nation, as

infinitely preferable to the pretensions of Bruce. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

After the breaking up of this assembly, foreseeing the certain ruin of all his own prospects of glory and ambition, from the opposition of so powerful a nobleman, and the utter destruction of his family and fortunes, when his address to the Scots nobles should be reported to Edward, and partly instigated by policy and resentment, Bruce followed Cumyn, and came up with him in the cloysters of the Minorites or Gray-Friars. From thence, these two rival noblemen appear to have gone together, and without any attendants, into the church of that monastery. There a warm altercation ensued between them, the precise nature of which, having been in secret, cannot now be even conjectured. All that can be known is founded upon the reports of the adherents of Bruce; who alleged that in the course of the dispute Cumyn gave Bruce the lie, and that Bruce instantly stabbed Cumyn with his dagger. The blow not proving immediately mortal, Cumyn was subsequently slain at the high altar, by some of Bruces followers; and along with him perished his uncle Sir Robert Cumyn, and several other ad-

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. herents and attendants, endeavouring to protect or avenge their chief*. This John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, was usually named John the *Red*, to distinguish him from his father John the *black* Cumyn. He had married Joan, one of the sisters of Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke. By this lady he had one son, John; who married the sister of Thomas lord Wake, and died childless. He left likewise two daughters, Joan and Elizabeth; the former of whom married David de Strathbolgie Earl of Athole, and the latter is said to have married Richard Talbot †; but this is doubtful.

We have already seen that the English justiciaries were then holding their court for the province of Galloway at Dumfries. On learning the atrocious murder which had been perpetrated almost in their presence, they believed their own lives to be in imminent hazard, and gave orders to barricade the doors of the court-room for their defence. But, when fire was brought to burn down the doors, having no means of resistance, they surrendered themselves, and were permitted by Bruce to depart in safety into England ‡.

* Ford. XII. v. Barbour. II. 32.—36.

† Dugdale, Baron. I. 685.—777. ‡ A. of S. I. 321.

Such appears to be the most probable and consistent account of this mysterious transaction which can now be formed upon a careful investigation of the best ancient authorities. It is, however, very differently related by some writers, particularly by Barbour and Fordun. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, is appropriated to an abstract of these different narrations of this obscure but important event; accompanied by such reflections as are called for by the nature of these discordant accounts: The consequences will fall to be noticed in the immediately subsequent chapter. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

Though not so entirely consistent with probability as the one already given, the relation of this rash deed by Barbour is much more simple, and is less interlarded with absurd and contradictory circumstances, than that which was composed at an after period by Fordun; which will appear in the sequel.

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. According to Barbour, Bruce and Cumyn chanced to travel in company from Stirling, soon after the last subjugation of Scotland by Edward. They naturally entered into conversation on the miseries to which their unhappy country was subjected under the thraldom of the English domination: In the course of which discussion, Cumyn voluntarily proposed to contribute his aid to Bruce for enabling him to acquire the vacant throne, to which he had an undoubted right:

"And ye thairoff suld Lord be *."

Cumyn, however, conditioned to receive the lands and dignities of Bruce, in recompence for this proffered assistance. And, as an alternative, if Bruce might not incline to run the hazard of aspiring to the throne, he offered to make the attempt for himself, and offered to give all his lands to Bruce for his aid in the perilous undertaking. Bruce closed readily with the former part of this alternative; engaging to assert his own right to the throne, and promised to transfer his lands and titles to Cumyn in reward for his assistance:

* Barb. I. 489.

"——— Sen ye will it be swa *,
I will blythly on me ta †
The state, for I wate ‡ that I haiff rycht;
And rycht mayse § oft the feble wycht ‖."—¶

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An objection has been stated against the probability of this agreement; under the idea that Bruce would not be guilty of the strange imprudence of reviving the controversy respecting the right of succession, at the very moment of endeavouring to effectuate a coalition of parties **. But it is obvious from Barbours account, that Cumyn previously and voluntarily gave full warrant to Bruce for asserting this right; and the words of Bruce are more like the jocular enunciation of a proverbial saying than the harsh assertion of a controversial point of difference.

In continuation of the story in Barbour: That part of the proposed alternative which allotted the crown to Bruce, and his lands to Cumyn, being mutually agreed upon, was immediately reduced into regular indentures, and confirmed by the reciprocal oaths of the contracting parties ††.

* Since you will have it so. † Take. ‡ Believe, am satisfied. § Makes. ‖ Strong.

¶ Barbour, I. v. 507—501. ** A. of S. III. 48.

†† Barb. I. 511—514.

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

After expatiating digressively to considerable length against the vice of treachery or treason, which he enlivens by the instances of the fall of Troy, the poisoning of Alexander of Macedon, the assassination of Cæsar, and the murder of Arthur, all through treason; he proceeds to state that Cumyn, immediately after this transaction, went up to England and informed Edward of all that had passed between Bruce and him, concealing such parts of their agreement as militated against his own loyalty. Yet he is expressly stated to have delivered up the indenture which had been executed by Bruce and himself*.

If this part of the story be true, it is perfectly obvious that the projected Scots revolution could not possibly have been mentioned in the indenture. Because Cumyn, in that case, must have supplied Edward with a proof of his own treason, equally conclusive with that against his rival Bruce. We may, therefore, conclude that the indenture between Bruce and Cumyn, if any such existed, and were produced to the King of England, must have been only a common bond of association and mutual assistance, similar to that between

* Barb. I. 565.

Bruce and the Bishop of St Andrews already mentioned. In his account of this transaction to the King of England, Cumyn may have asserted or insinuated that Bruce, after the conclusion of this association, had endeavoured to procure his concurrence in the projected revolt, as the *causus fœderis* or secret object of the agreement. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

Barbour proceeds to state: That, after receiving the indenture and the account of the conspiracy from Cumyn, Edward convened a parliament, and summoned Bruce to attend its meeting: That Bruce compeared; and, having the indenture presented to him, requested to examine it, especially the seal which was said to be his own: But, observing that he had not then his seal in his possession, he requested leave to answer to the accusation on the following day, offering to impledge all his lands in security for his abiding trial *.

This indulgence being allowed, Bruce immediately repaired to his inn or lodging-house, where he ordered his marshal or house steward to take charge of his attendants, while he withdrew to his private chamber attended by his secretary, under pretence of important

* Barb. I. 615—626.

A. D. 1306: 10 Feb. business. Having provided two excellent horses, the secretary and he secretly withdrew under cover of the night, and travelled with so great expedition as to reach Lochmaben castle in Annandale, a distance of about four hundred miles, in the course of *five* days*. On the morning after Bruce had thus absconded, when sent for to attend the meeting of parliament, or to be taken into custody, his chamber door was forced, and he was discovered to have fled from London †.

It has been objected to this part of the story, that no parliament sat at this time, and that the proceedings stated by Barbour are utterly inconsistent with the ordinary forms of that assembly ‡. To this it may be answered, That the expressions of Barbour may only mean a conference or sederunt of the privy council, convened to investigate the charge against Bruce:

> " The king sat into parlyament,
> And forouch || hys cunsail privé,
> The Lord the Brwyse thair callyt he ¶.

The word parliament is here apparently used as synonymous with the privy council in

* Barb. II. 1—18. † Id. II. 61.
‡ A. of S. III. 48. || Before, in presence of.
¶ Barb. I. 602.—604.

the context; and did not anciently designate, especially in the Scots dialect, the legislative assembly of the nation, but was employed to signify any solemn meeting for conference. In French, from which the word was adopted into English, it never was used as the denomination of the assembled legislature or states; and, in Scotland, the legislature was stiled the Convention of Estates to a late period.

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Learning, on his arrival at Lochmaben, that Cumyn was at Dumfries, Bruce went immediately there; and, meeting Cumyn at the Friars, presented him with the indenture in full proof of his detected treachery, and instantly stabbed him with a dagger. Barbour adds, that some persons reported the circumstances of this fatal event in a quite different manner; but that Cumyn was assuredly slain at the high altar of the Friars at Dumfries: "On which account Bruce was greatly blameable for not respecting the sanctuary, and was afterwards severely punished for the misdeed, by suffering greater hardships than any which are related in history *."

Such is the story of this catastrophe as told by Barbour; in which the only complete

* Barb. II. 43—48.

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. improbability appears to be the extreme rapidity of the journey, and perhaps the appearance of Bruce at London before the king; for we shall afterwards find occasion to conclude that Edward was then at Winchester.

The traditionary story is related in a very different manner in the *Annals of Scotland*, using the materials of Fordun and Barbour jointly, and with a multiplicity of additional circumstances, which must be considered as superadditions from Fordun to the original relation of Barbour: It appears proper to give this more extended tale, without the smallest intention of justifying its extravagance. The relation itself is nearly in the words of Lord Hailes, and a few observations are interspersed *.

'Bruce proposed to Cumyn, "Support my title to the crown, and I will give you my estate; or, give me your lands and I will support your claim." To this inconclusive proposal Cumyn agreed. The conditions were drawn up in form of indenture, which was sealed by both parties and confirmed by their mutual oaths of fidelity and secrecy. But Cumyn, from a sense of honour, or dreading

* A. of S. I. 319.—324.

discovery, or with the base purpose of ruining a rival, revealed the secret to Edward.' A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

In this part of the story, Barbour does not leave the agreement in the ridiculous form of an inconclusive dilemma; but clearly specifies the reciprocal engagements of both parties.

"Edward questioned Bruce on the subject, and shewed him the letters of Cumyn, or the indenture which he had given up. Bruce soothed the king by mild and judicious answers; but Edward still suspected him, both from Cumyns accusation, and because he knew him to be the *rightful heir* of Scotland. He dissembled his suspicions, however, until he might draw the brothers of Bruce within his power, and be able to cut off the whole family at once. But, having drank freely one evening, he informed some of the lords about his person that he intended to put Bruce to death the next day. The Earl of Gloucester, one of these, sent a messenger to Bruce with twelve pence and a pair of spurs, as if restoring what he had borrowed. Bruce understood this as warning him of danger, and counselling flight. Much snow having fallen in the night, Bruce had the shoes of his horses inverted, to prevent tracing them in the snow, and immediately set out for Scotland accom-

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. panied by a secretary and one groom. Approaching the west marches, he observed a messenger on foot whose behaviour seemed suspicious, and discovered him to be the bearer of letters from Cumyn to Edward, urging the death or imprisonment of Bruce. He beheaded the messenger, and pushed on for Lochmaben castle, where he arrived on the *seventh* day after leaving London."

For all the numerous circumstances in the foregoing paragraph, there is not the slightest warrant in the relation of Barbour; except for the judicious manner in which Bruce is said to have soothed Edward to gain time and opportunity for flight, and for the extraordinary expedition of the journey, which Barbour restricts to *five* days. Not one word about the intoxication of the king, the mysterious restoration of a supposed loan, the snow and the inverted horse-shoes, or the unhappy messenger; neither is Edward accused of the intention of murdering the whole Bruce family.

"Bruce repaired from Lochmaben to Dumfries where Cumyn then was, and requested an interview in the convent of Minorites, where they met before the high altar. He there passionately reproached Cumyn for his treachery, who gave him the lie. Irritated by

this insufferable answer, Bruce stabbed Cumyn with his dagger; and, hastening from the sanctuary, called eagerly for his horse. His attendants, Lindesay and Gilpatrick of Kirkpatrick, perceiving him pale and in extreme agitation, anxiously inquired the cause. "I doubt I have slain Cumyn," replied Bruce. On this Kirkpatrick and Lindesay rushed into the sanctuary, and dispatched Cumyn. In generously attempting to defend or revenge his kinsman, Sir Robert Cumyn shared his fate." According to Fordun, Kirkpatrick and Lindesay questioned the wounded Cumyn, if he thought he might recover; to which he replied that he certainly might, if a surgeon could be procured to assist him: on which they secured his death by fresh wounds *. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

This part of the story differs little from the account in Barbour, who mentions nothing of Lindesay or Kirkpatrick, names the kinsman of Cumyn Sir Edward, and adds that many other men of importance were slain at the same time †. In Fordun, the kinsman of Cumyn is named Richard; but, in a letter from Lamberton to Sir Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, he justifies himself from having

* Ford. XII. vii. † Barb. II. 37. 38.

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. any concern in the murder of the Lord John Cumyn, or of his uncle Sir Robert *.

"The justiciaries of the King of England happened to hold their sittings in Dumfries, at the time of this strange event; and considering their lives to be in imminent danger, they caused the doors of their court-room to be barricaded. But Bruce ordered fire to be applied; on which they surrendered, and he permitted them to depart in safety from Scotland †."

"Such is the account of this unhappy catastrophe, as delivered by our national writers ‡." But a very different, more simple, and more probable account has been already given from Barbour, one of these national writers, and the one nearest the time of the transactions which he relates. It has been endeavoured, in the opening of this chapter, by carefully combining the most probable and best authenticated circumstances from the ancient historians of both countries, to give a consistent narrative of the whole transaction. The following commentary by Lord Hailes, upon the story which he had extracted from the Scots historians, is highly judicious, and

* A. of S. I. 321. † Hemingf. I. 220.
‡ A. of S. I. 321.

is therefore here inserted in his own words: And to sum up the consideration of this mysterious epoch in our national history, a more extended dissertation by the same author, on the improbabilities and contradictions in the traditionary account, shall close this chapter. But, from what has been already observed, it will be obvious that Barbour is entirely free from most of the objections of our excellent annalist.

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"The English writers relate the circumstances of this story in a different, but not more probable manner*. I think that the historians of both nations have erred in their accounts, and that the real nature of the fatal quarrel is still unknown. My opinion is †:

"That Bruce, when he met Cumyn at Dumfries, had no intention of imbruing his hands in blood, nor any immediate purpose of asserting his own claim to the crown of Scotland: That the slaughter of Cumyn was occasioned by a hasty quarrel between two proud spirited rivals; and that Bruce, from necessity and despair, did then assert his pretensions to the crown.

* M. Westm. 453. † A. of S. I. 321.

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"It is probable that Cumyn might have endeavoured to instil suspicions into the mind of Edward, by representing his rival as a dangerous person, versatile and aspiring. Reports of this might have reached the ears of Bruce; and, as generally happens, might have been magnified in relating. One of the English historians seems to hint at this. When speaking of the conference between Bruce and Cumyn, he says, 'Bruce began by charging Cumyn with having accused him to the King of England of being engaged in seditious practices, by which he had suffered great injury *.'

"As a freeholder of Annandale, Bruce was bound to give suit and presence in the kings court, then holding at Dumfries. Thus, his appearance there on the 10th February may be reasonably accounted for, without supposing his intentions to have been hostile. His sudden journey from the south of England may be imputed to the same cause; and the appearance of Cumyn at Dumfries was probably owing to some accident of a similar nature.

* Hemingf. I. 219.

"Bruce was full of resentment at the reports which he had heard of Cumyns intrigues. He impatiently demanded an interview, and an explanation. Had Cumyn been conscious of what our historians lay to his charge, he would have avoided the interview. Had Bruce meant to have assassinated Cumyn, he never would have proposed a sanctuary, a place so tremendous in the notions of the times, for the scene of action. What was the nature of the conversation between these two fierce and rival spirits, as it must have been private, we can only conjecture. Some few words only could be heard by prejudiced attendants. It appears that the contest grew warm, and that Bruce struck Cumyn with his dagger. No sooner had he atchieved this rash deed, than the enormity of the offence distracted his imagination. Murder aggravated by sacrilege were crimes which Edward, as a sovereign, would not, and as a politician, could not, forgive. The impetuous zeal of the followers of Bruce aggravated the offence, and gave to the whole transaction the appearance of premeditated assassination. The only alternative left for Bruce was to be a fugitive or a king. Placed in this singular situation, he asserted his claim to the Scottish throne.

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"I propose these conjectures with much diffidence, and indeed with little expectation of satisfying my readers. For there are some facts which may termed *the land-marks of history* by which men have been wont to conduct themselves. He who removes these, or endeavours to place them in a different point of view, is considered by all parties as a pragmatical and dangerous innovator *."

Conceiving it necessary that his hero should be faultless, Abercrombie has advanced a strange hypothesis to justify Bruce for the slaughter of Cumyn: Alleging that, as supreme magistrate, he had a right to execute summary justice in an extreme case. He quotes Sir William Temple as an authority, that all governments are equally absolute in the last resort †. How well soever this singular doctrine might suit the meridian of Morocco, where a principal accomplishment of the sovereign is to be the most expert headsman in his dominions, it requires no reasoning to decide that the assumption at once of the characters of king, accuser, evidence, judge, and executioner, can never be warrantable in any circumstances. Yet the sub-

* A. of S. I. 323. 324. † Mart. Atch. II. 290.

sequent history of Scotland affords one example of that unjustifiable conduct. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

OF THE

DEATH OF CUMYN:

A DISSERTATION

BY

LORD HAILES*.

"In the account of the death of Cumyn, as recorded by the Scottish historians, there are many circumstances liable to suspicion, and there are some absolutely false.

"It is most improbable that Bruce should have made this proposal to Cumyn, support my title to the crown, and I will give you my estate; or give me your estate, and I will support your title to the crown. At that

* A. of S. III. 48. App. *first*, No. vii.

A. D. 1306. 10 Feb. time Bruce stood high in favour with Edward, consulted and trusted. Such a proposal, made by one in such circumstances, would naturally have alarmed the suspicions of Cumyn, and would have made him apprehend a false confidence, calculated to betray.

"According to Forduns account, Cumyn accepted *one* of the alternatives; so that we are left to suppose, that Cumyn agreed, either to be King of Scotland, or Earl of Carrick. Barbour, indeed, obviates this difficulty; for he says *, that Cumyn made the proposal, not Bruce; and that Bruce answered, I will take the crown, for it is mine of right, and you shall have my lands. But how could Cumyn make such a proposal to a person whom he knew to be in the entire confidence of Edward? And how strange is the answer of Bruce? an answer reviving the ancient contest of succession, at the very moment when a coalition of parties was proposed †.

"Barbour ‡, and Fordun §, concur in asserting that the conditions of this covenant were

* Barb. I. 485.

† Lord Hailes has overlooked one circumstance, in the report of this conversation by Barbour, That Cumyn was the first to declare the right of Bruce.

‡ Barb. I. 513. § Ford. XII. v.

drawn up in the form of indenture, and that the instrument was sealed by both parties. It must be held extraordinary, that the two conspirators, met together, should have committed such a secret to writing, as if it had been a legal covenant to have force in a court of justice; but more extraordinary still, that they should have done this act at the imminent hazard of entrusting their lives and fortunes to the fidelity of a third party; for, I presume, it will be admitted, that two Scottish barons, in that age, could not have framed such an indenture without assistance. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

"That Edward should have pretended to be satisfied with the justification offered by Bruce, is incredible. It is no less incredible that Bruce should have supposed Edward to have been satisfied with such a justification, after having perused the letters of Cumyn *.

"It is remarkable that Edward, in the first public instrument which makes mention of the slaughter of Cumyn, expressly says, That he himself reposed entire confidence in Bruce †.

* No such idea can be attributed to Bruce from the relation of Barbour: He took, on the contrary, the first possible opportunity for flight.

† De quo plenam fiduciam habebamus. Foed. Angl., II. 988.

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I see no reason which could have induced Edward to make this declaration, if he had been possessed of written evidence for proving that the intentions of Bruce were hostile.

"Barbour reports *, That Edward, having received Cumyns part of the indenture, summoned a parliament, and that Bruce appeared there: That, on the first day of the parliament, Edward exhibited the indenture, and charged Bruce as guilty of treason: That Bruce desired to have inspection of the indenture till next day, and pledged his whole estate for his appearance. This is a very ignorant account of the manner of proceeding of an English parliament in a case of treason, when the nation was in peace. There is, however, less occasion to insist on this circumstance, because we are certainly informed, by the English historians, and by the publishers of records, that no such parliament was assembled †. Besides, the instrument just quoted from the Fœdera, completely confutes Barbours story. For how could Edward have had the effrontery to declare to the

* Barb. I. 590.

† The word parliament, used by Barbour, has been before shewn to be only a probable synonyme for a meeting of the privy council.

world, that he reposed entire confidence in Bruce, if he had openly charged him in parliament of treason *. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

"That Edward disclosed his purposes against Bruce, in an unguarded moment of festivity, is ridiculous; and *that* the more especially, as the historian had said, just before, that Edward postponed his intention of taking vengeance on Bruce, until he had secured the absent brothers of that family.

"It is altogether incomprehensible, that Ralph de Monthermer, called Earl of Gloucester, should have betrayed the secrets of his sovereign and benefactor, in order to preserve the life of one whom he must have viewed in the light of a foul and ungrateful rebel. An acute writer, perceiving this improbability, has said, in general, that Bruce received the information from a nobleman at Edwards court, his intimate friend.

"The mysterious present of twelve pence and a pair of spurs, which the Earl of Gloucester is supposed to have borrowed from Bruce, cannot fail to excite a smile; it is just

* The *entire confidence* of the proclamation by Edward may only have been a rhetorical flourish of the clerk, or secretary, to exaggerate the offence of Bruce.

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as if Sir G. S. should borrow half-a-guinea and a horsemans whip from the M. of R.*. The ridicule and absurdity of this circumstance are softened by making the restitution to have been a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold. But we must take the story as we find it in Fordun.

"The sage precaution of inverting the horse-shoes, is no better than the rest. The backward traces in the snow would not prevent this circumstance from being known, that Bruces horses had issued forth from the stable. Besides, it happens that we have tolerable reason to believe, that no snow fell at that time. Bruce arrived at Lochmaben on the seventh day after his departure from London; he went immediately to Dumfries, met with Cumyn, and slew him. As Cumyn was slain upon the 10th February 1305-6, it follows that Bruce left London on the 2d February 1305-6. Now, according to an account of the weather given by M. Westminster, a contemporary historian, 'There was a great frost, accompanied with snow, from the

* "This passage concerning Sir G. S. and the M. of R. I still consider as an apt illustration of my subject: But it has been strangely misunderstood, and construed into a censure of the persons alluded to; a censure which I never intended."

15th December 1305, to the 25th January 1305-6; and when men imagined that the severity of winter was over, the frost set in again on the 13th February, and continued until the 13th April *." This account seems hardly consistent with the immense snow, which, according to Fordun, fell in the night of the 1st February. A. D. 1306. 10 Feb.

"The only other extravagant circumstance which I shall mention is, that of Cumyn dispatching a special messenger on foot, in the month of February, immediately after a great thaw, on a journey of full four hundred miles, with letters to the King of England, which required the utmost dispatch. To add to the absurdity, this messenger is supposed by Fordun to have been privy to the contents of the letter which he was charged to convey.

"If readers can digest so many absurdities, it is an ungrateful labour to set plain truth before them."

* Subsecuta est hiems frigidissima, mortales perimens, et durante gelu et nive glaciali à 18 kal. Januarii, usque ad 8 kal. Februarii. Et cum putarent homines hyemam evasisse, iterum aër cogebatur in nubes, et flante euro, assidue rediit gelu, et duravit gelu ab idibus Februarii usque ad idus Aprilis. M. Westm. 453.

CHAPTER III.

From the Revolt of Robert Bruce, 10th February 1306; to his Coronation as King of Scots, 27th March of that year.

A. D: 1306. Feb.

At this extremely critical conjuncture, when, by the sacrilegious murder of Cumyn, Bruce had rashly committed the rank, opulence, and very existence of himself and family to the utmost hazard, he certainly had not concerted any definitive measures for promoting and enforcing the claim, which he now suddenly and necessarily asserted to the crown of Scotland. To reign, or to suffer the punishment of complicated murder, sacrilege, and treason, to ascend the throne or a scaffold, or to go into perpetual exile, were the only alternatives now in his choice. Immediately after the slaughter of Cumyn at Dumfries, he appears to have returned to the castle of Lochmaben, where his next brother Edward then resided, and with whom he would naturally consult respecting his future procedure. Having accordingly resolved to assume the crown, as his only possible resource, he dispatched mes-

sengers and letters to all his friends; giving an account of the event which had taken place at Dumfries, and urging them to unite for his assistance and protection *. In these letters he would assuredly endeavour to represent the circumstances of the recent transaction at Dumfries as favourably as possible for himself, and would do his utmost to persuade his friends, that the opportunity was favourable for asserting the liberties of their enslaved country, and for advancing his own pretensions to the Scots throne. The advanced age and growing infirmities of Edward I. and the facile imbecility of character of the Prince of Wales, must have been well known to Bruce; and he would assuredly seek to confirm his own hopes, and to strengthen the confidence of his friends and adherents, by representing the near prospect of a reign of factious weakness in England.

A. D. 1306. Feb.

On his first appearance in arms, besides his own brothers and the military dependants of his family, only a few barons joined his standard; and these were mostly young men of no considerable power or importance. No fortresses were at his command, except the

* Barbour, II. 73.

A. D. 1306. Feb. castles of Lochmaben and Kildrummy: The former in Annandale, too near the English borders to be made the rallying point of an insurrection against the power of England; the other in the Garrioch, a lordship belonging to him in Aberdeenshire, at too great a distance in the north to afford any immediate assistance towards the advancement of his dangerous enterprize. He had formed no regular plan of operations, and had made no preparation of resources; and, so far from possessing the means of an offensive war for the recovery of Scotland, he was in no condition to act even upon the defensive, with the most distant prospect of present safety or ultimate success*. His situation was certainly to all appearance exceedingly desperate, and he was environed on every side by the most formidable and discouraging obstacles.

Besides the whole force of the populous, opulent, and warlike kingdom of England, then ruled by the most experienced statesman and most fortunate military leader of the age, he had to encounter the opinions of many of the Scots nobles, who favoured the Baliol family, and the deadly hatred of the numerous

* A. of S. I. 324.

and powerful family of Cumyn, with all their friends and adherents, eager to avenge the sacrilegious murder of their kinsman and chief. The great majority of the Scots nobility, at this period, appears to have been entirely adverse to his cause and pretensions; either from connexion with the families of Baliol and Cumyn, or from anxiety to remain quietly under the English domination: Smarting with the recollection of their late fruitless and ruinous efforts to throw off the yoke, they dreaded lest any fresh attempt should occasion the utter desolation of their unhappy country, and the entire ruin of their own families and fortunes. "He displayed his standard," says Fordun, "against *all and singular* of the Scots nation, with the exception only of a small number of personal adherents*." A. D. 1306. Feb.

The numerous oaths of fidelity, which the Scots had repeatedly taken to Edward, have been considered as among the formidable obstacles which now opposed the enterprise of Bruce†. But, during the whole eventful period which has been reviewed in the preliminary portion of this work, we have seen that oaths and engagements were entered into with

* Ford. III. ix. † A. of S. II. 1.

A. D. 1306. Feb.

all manner of facility, and were as readily broken, renewed, and violated on every changing occasion in the circumstances of the times. The doctrines and practices of the papal church so easily allowed absolution for every crime to its obedient subsidiary votaries, and the events of the long contest between the ambition of Edward and the resistance of the Scots nation had so much deranged all the ties of religious duty, legal obedience, or moral obligation, that every principle and restraint from religion, law, and morality, appear to have been loosened and almost entirely abandoned. Oaths may be said to have become mere ceremonies of course and of necessity, and of no consideration or avail. The whole fabric of civil, religious, and political society in Scotland was shaken to its centre, and almost dissolved into anarchy. Besides, all the oaths which had been taken by the Scots nation, having been exacted under circumstances of absolute necessity and direct compulsion, could not be considered as binding.

To every appearance the situation of Bruce was irretrievably desperate, and altogether without hope. He seemed scarcely to have the smallest chance to escape from being speedily and utterly overwhelmed under the

power of the King of England, to the thorough and lasting ruin of his whole family, connexions, and adherents. Yet he gloriously dared to ascend the throne of Scotland; depending upon his own valour, and the untried fidelity and perseverance of an inconsiderable number of partizans, and in the patriotic hope of renovating the spirit of a brave nation, indignant at the degradation it had long suffered under the usurpation and tyranny of the King of England. How he extricated himself and his country from this unpromising and almost hopeless situation, and ultimately triumphed over the whole power and resources of England, which were greatly assisted by a majority of the Scots nobles and their numerous martial followers, restoring Scotland to independence, and establishing himself and his descendants on the throne which he reconquered and illustrated, it will be the object of the remainder of this work to endeavour to develope; for this daring, glorious, and successful enterprise, in its progress, accomplishment, and consolidation, occupied the whole of his heroic reign. A. D. 1306. Feb.

In the scanty remains of the historical records of the times, it is now impossible to col-

A. D. 1306. Feb.

lect materials for a regular and unbroken narrative of the important events of this interesting period. Long intervals of apparent inaction frequently occur, during which we are unable to account for the procedure of the principal persons who were engaged in this great struggle between English usurpation and Scots independence; and we are, therefore, reluctantly constrained to record the series of events in a seemingly unconnected and desultory manner. From the unhappy slaughter of Cumyn at Dumfries, on the 10th of February 1306, to the coronation of Robert on the 27th of March immediately following, an important period of forty-five days, we have no remaining distinct memorials of the conduct and preparations of Bruce. Yet, in this interval, we must conclude that he was using every possible exertion to collect his friends and adherents from all quarters, for the support of his cause; that he was engaged in frequent and anxious consultations with the principal leaders of his party, respecting the conduct of his ulterior proceedings; and was eagerly employing every possible expedient to inspire his adherents with confidence in the justice of his own claim to the throne, and with hope of ultimate success in his and

their exertions to restore the independence of their country. Upon this occasion, the recent glorious example of the temporary rescue of Scotland from thraldom, by the valour and conduct of the renowned Wallace, could not fail to be adduced and insisted upon as an irrefragable proof that perseverance and unanimity must ultimately triumph over every exertion of their enemies. A. D. 1315. Feb.

Barbour only mentions in general terms on the present occasion, that the friends to whom Bruce had addressed requisitorial letters for assistance joined him with their followers, and that he assembled the military retainers of his own estates*. At this period, there were not above twelve earls in Scotland, besides himself. Three only of these, the Earls of Lenox, Errol, and Athole, joined his standard at the commencement of the revolution: All the rest were either neutral, or fought against him. Three of these sunk under the superior ascendancy of his prowess and fortune; and during the whole of his reign he only created two earls, those of Moray and Carrick; or rather transferred two earldoms, one of which was his own inheritance, to his friends †.

* Barb. B. II. 75. † Caledon. I. 821.

A. D. 1306. Feb.

Before proceeding with the narrative of the present important transactions, the following authentic list of the chief associates of Bruce, at the commencement of his arduous and unpromising undertaking, may merit attention *. Besides his own brothers, Edward, Niel or Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, the following are all that can now be enumerated.

1. William de Lamberton or Lambyrton, bishop of St. Andrews; formerly one of the guardians or regents of Scotland, in conjunction with Bruce and Cumyn, and the person with whom Bruce had lately united in a secret bond of association for mutual advice and assistance, as already adverted to.

2. Robert Wisheart, bishop of Glasgow; who had stood forwards in defence of Scots liberty upon all preceding favourable occasions, and who seems to have always been strenuously attached to the party of Bruce, and the interests of his country. He had been a member of the Scots regency which was formed at the death of Alexander III. in 1286; and must have been intimately conversant in all the secret springs of events during the late busy period of twenty years of revolution.

* A. of S. II. 2.

3. David Moray, or de Moravia, bishop of Moray, and founder of the Scots college at Paris; who is said to have preached to the people of his diocese: "That, on the peril of his soul, he esteemed it equally meritorious to rise in arms against the King of England in the cause of Bruce, as to engage in a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Saracens *." A. D. 1306. Feb.

4. The Abbot or Prior of Scone, who had been employed by the late Scots regency on several occasions; particularly in negociations at the court of France.

The wisdom and foresight of Bruce, in attaching as many as possible of the dignitaries of the Scots church to his cause, has been already adverted to, and will be particularly manifest in the sequel; when, through the influence of Edward, Bruce and all his adherents were excommunicated by the Pope, and Scotland was subjected to all the then conceived horrors of an interdict, the Scots clergy, encouraged by the authority and example of their patriotic dignitaries, had the courage to resist the arbitrary and unjust mandates of the supreme head of the Catholic church, by per-

* M. S. Records. Ap. A. of S. II. 3.

A. D. 1306. Feb. sisting in the exercise of their spiritual functions. Had the Scotican church obeyed the commands of the Pope, the cause of Bruce and Scotland must have been speedily overthrown by England; as no Scotsman could have dared to draw a sword, while conscious that the fortune of war might have consigned his soul to utter death, under the privation of the consolatory sacraments of religion.

5. Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, nephew of Bruce, who afterwards became the renowned Earl of Moray; a valorous leader of the Scots arms, a wise counsellor in the most arduous situation of affairs, and the prudent governor of Scotland after the demise of his heroic uncle. Lord Hailes supposed that this excellent person ought to have been named Randolph-son or Ralph-son *. Yet his father, who made the request of delay for Baliol at Upsettlington, had the same name of Thomas Randolph: Hence the name Randolph appears to have been an established patronimic in the family. Barbour calls him Randell, a name which has come down to the present times, and with the same orthography †. In a charter by Robert I. to the city of Aberdeen,

* A. of S. III. † Barb. B. II. 237.

to be afterwards noticed, this celebrated person, one of the witnesses, is named Ranulph. A. D. 1306. Feb.

6. Christal, or Christopher of Seaton, brother-in-law to Bruce; ancestor of the Duke of Gordon, of the Earls of Winton, Dunfermline, Aboyne, and Aberdeen, and of Viscount Kingston.

7. Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lenox.

8. John de Strathbolgie, tenth Earl of Athole, a cadet of the ancient family of M'Duff, Earl of Fife; who had acquired that title and estate by marrying Adda, the heiress of Strathbolgie.

9. Sir James Douglas, son of Sir William Douglas, whose lands Bruce had laid waste in 1297, as formerly mentioned. Douglas must have been convinced that the procedure of Bruce on that occasion was justified by the circumstances of the times, or his attachment to the cause of his country must have now entirely countervailed every idea of resentment proceeding from that transaction; for he became one of the most heroic leaders of the Scots, and ever remained the steady friend and gallant soldier of Bruce.

10. Gilbert de la Haye, or Hay, earl of Errol; ancestor of the Earl of Errol, Marquis of Tweedale, and Earl of Kinnoul.

A. D. 1306. Feb.

11. Hugh de la Hay his brother.

12. David Barclay of Cairns in Fife.

13. Alexander Frizel, or Frazer, brother of Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle, ancestor of the Earl of Lovat.

14. Walter de Somerville of Linton and Carnwath, ancestor of Lord Somerville.

15. David of Inchmartin, ancestor of the earls of Findlater and Airly, and of Lord Banff.

16. Robert Boyd, ancestor of the Earl of Kilmarnock.

17. Robert Fleming, ancestor of the Earl of Wigton.

Besides these, the three following were very early engaged on the side of Bruce, but do not appear to have joined him until after his coronation *.

18. Alan, earl of Menteith.

19. Nigel, or Niel Campbell of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Argyle.

20. Simon Fraser of Oliver castle, who had participated with Cumyn in the victory of Roslin, and who refused submission to the mercy of the King of England along with the renowned Wallace, after the surrender of Cumyn.

* M. Westm. 452. A. of S. II. 3.

It is not to be supposed that Lindesay and Kirkpatrick, who had accompanied and aided Bruce in the slaughter of Cumyn, and who must have been involved in all the penalties of that crime, should have been now absent: But they are probably not enumerated among the leaders or baronial adherents of the cause, as being vassals of Annandale. A. D. 1306. Feb.

From Lochmaben, Bruce is said to have passed to Glasgow, which place he seems to have appointed as the rendezvous of his friends *.

Among the adherents of Bruce at this imporant period, Sir James Douglas has been already mentioned. At the period of the revolt of Bruce, according to Barbour, Douglas resided with the Bishop of St Andrews, his own patrimony having been seized by the King of England, and granted to the Lord Clifford †. The bishop privately supplied him with money to enable him to join the party of Bruce, and directed him to take the bishops own horse for his use, as if by violence, from the groom. He is accordingly said to have knocked down that servant, and to have gone unaccompanied to Bruce, whom he met

* Barb. B. II. 175. † Id. B. II. 91.

A. D. 1306. Feb. at Ayrik-stane, on his way from Lochmaben towards Glasgow. Making himself known, he offered his services in the approaching revolution; expressing his hopes, under the standard of his rightful sovereign, to recover the possession of his own heritage *. As the Bishop of St Andrews was himself engaged in the cause of Bruce, this supposed farce between him and Douglas could only have served to conceal the intentions of the bishop for a very few days. It will afterwards be noticed, that the heir of the Stewart of Scotland was at this time in the bishops custody, having been placed there by the King of England as an hostage for his fathers fidelity. This youth was given up to Bruce by the bishop; and, in the traditionary passage of this story, to the knowledge of Barbour, the name of one of these young men may have been exchanged for the other.

After an account of the first interview between Bruce and Douglas, Barbour thus describes the unwearied fidelity of that gallant chieftain, and the constant friendship of his grateful sovereign:

* Barb. B. II. 114—161.

"Thus gat * maid thai thair aquentance,
That niuir syne †, for na kyn chance,
Depertyt quhill thai lyffand war.
Thair frendschip woux ay mar and mar;
For he serwyt ay lelely;
And the toddyr full willfully ‡,
That wes both worthy wycht § and wyse,
Rewardyt him weile hys serwice ||."

A. D. 1306. Feb.

From Glasgow, with such an escort as could be hastily collected, Bruce proceeded to Scone, the customary place of investiture of the Scots kings; where he was solemnly crowned and inaugurated on Friday the 27th of March 1306, forty-five days after the slaughter of Cumyn at Dumfries ¶. We may presume that the ordinary ceremonies of this coronation would be performed by the Bishop of St Andrews, assisted by the Bishops of Glasgow and Moray and the Abbot of Scone, who were all present upon this occasion. 27 Mar.

The Scots regalia, even the fatal stone on which the kings had long been seated at their coronation, having all been carried off by Edward after the deposition of John, means must

* In this manner. † Since. ‡ Willingly. § Strong.
|| Barbour, B. II. 167—174.
¶ Id. B. II. 180.

A. D. 1306. 27 Mar.

have been used for supplying the deficiency. We find accordingly that the Bishop of Glasgow was accused before the Pope of having provided the robes from his own wardrobe in which Robert appeared at his coronation, and of having delivered to him a banner of the arms of the late King of Scots, which the bishop had concealed in his treasury *. How the place of the crown and sceptre was supplied we are not informed; but the insignia of the Virgin Queen of Heaven may have been borrowed on the occasion. That a gold crown was employed is certain; for a pardon was afterwards granted in the English parliament to Walter de Coigners, for having concealed and detained the golden crown in which Robert Bruce was crowned †. The state chair of the Abbot of Scone would readily afford a substitute for the ancient throne of the Scots kings. Barbour seems to have been unaware of the abstraction of the ancient throne of Scone, as he says that Bruce,

"———— in the kings stole wer set,
As in that tyme wes the maner ‡."

* Caledonia I. 673. † Id. ib.

‡ Barb. B. II. 180.

According to Hemingford, four bishops and five earls were present at the coronation *. But, from the authentic list of the Scots patriots on the present occasion, already inserted from the Annals of Scotland, only three bishops and three earls appear to have then joined the party of Robert. The Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Moray, and the Earls of Lenox, Athole, and Errol; but the Earl of Menteith joined him soon afterwards, and Hemingford may have counted Edward Bruce as one of the earls on this occasion. A. D. 1306. 27 Mar.

Ever since the accession of Malcolm Canmore in 1056, the Earls of Fife, descendants from the celebrated M'Duff, had enjoyed the honorary distinction of crowning the Scots kings, or at least of placing them upon the throne at their coronation. But Duncan, who was then Earl of Fife, was in the English interest. His sister Isobella, the wife of Cumyn earl of Buchan, withdrawing secretly from her husband, repaired to Scone, avowing herself a partizan of Robert and a patriotic friend to the liberties of her oppressed country. She here insisted upon exercising the privileges and discharging the duties of her

* Hemingf. 221.

A. D. 1306. 29 Mar. family; and the ceremonial was repeated two days after the original coronation, on Sunday the 29th March *.

In this renewal of the ceremony of coronation, when the crown was placed a second time on the brows of the new king, or when he was formally seated upon the throne by the Countess of Buchan, the prejudices of the people were obviously and properly considered, that there might be no colour for alleging that the coronation had not been conducted according to the ancient solemnities. Such circumstances of custom, however trivial and unimportant in the estimation of men of sense and judgment, have often greatly more weight with the ignorant multitude than the most cogent arguments of constitutional right and strictly legal succession.

It is added, that the Countess of Buchan abstracted the war horses of her lord, and carried them with her to the assistance of Bruce. If the circumstance be true, that the earl of Buchan then resided at one of his English estates, the Countess may have been in Scotland at the time, and may have taken upon her to unite with Bruce in her husbands ab-

* Trivet. 342. M. Westm. 454.

sence. One English writer ridiculously accuses the intrepid and patriotic Countess as entertaining a criminal intercourse with the new king, whom he is pleased to represent as a fool*. His enterprize, indeed, might well have been considered as rash and unadvised at the time of its commencement; but, long before that author compiled his performance, the successful bravery and wise conduct of Robert, both in war and government, ought to have sufficiently convinced his most bigoted and determined enemies that no such epithet was at all applicable to his character. It has been justly observed, that an author who was so ill informed as to term Robert a fool, might be allowed to defame the character of Isobella, without any derogation to her honour †. A. D. 1306. 29 Mar.

Another English writer ignorantly attributes this bold effusion of patriotism to Elizabeth de Quinci, daughter of Robert earl of Winchester, who was then constable of Scotland under the authority of Edward. Elizabeth de Quinci was the widow of Alexander earl of Buchan, and mother-in-law to Isobella M'Duff the actual heroine. He says in ex-

* M. Westm. 454. † A. of S. II. 2.

A. D. 1306. 29 Mar. press terms, "The Countes of Boughan, by cause her sunne was absent lying at his maner of Witnik by Leircestre, toke apon her to corone Robert Bruse at Stone in Scotland*." But this is a palpable error, however expressly asserted: For that English lady had not the most distant pretensions to the office, either by birth or marriage; while her daughter-in-law was of the M'Duff family, in which this honourable distinction was hereditarily vested by ancient royal grant; and the more contemporary writers attribute the bold and patriotic deed to the proper person, who was severely punished for it in the sequel.

After the coronation, Robert received the homage of the nobility and others who had attended on the ceremony; and is said to have made a progress into different parts of Scotland, for the purpose of endeavouring to augment the number of his followers in the arduous and apparently hopeless contest in which he had engaged †.

A considerable number of Scotsmen of all ranks joined Bruce about this time; by whose assistance he was enabled to seize several of

* Scala. Chron. ap. Leland Col. II. 542.

† Barb. B. II. 185—189.

the castles that were garrisoned by the English, or by Scotsmen in the English interest, and to over-run the estates of the partizans of Edward. All the English then in Scotland, excepting such as were able to take shelter in the fortresses which still held out against Bruce, fled with the utmost expedition into England *.

A. D. 1306. 29 Mar.

* Foed. Angl. II. 988.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Coronation of Robert I. 27th March 1306; to his Discomfiture at Methven, 19th June of that year.

A. D. 1306. EDWARD I. was residing at Winchester during the season of Lent, when he received intelligence of the slaughter of Cumyn and the daring attempt of Bruce to wrest Scotland from his authority by assuming the throne. Upon the settlement of that country, in 1304, he had confided the general administration of affairs to John de Bretagne as lieutenant and guardian, William de Bevercotes chancellor, John de Sandale chamberlain, and Robert Heron comptroller *. On the present emergency, he immediately appointed Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, to the important office of guardian: And even in the letters patent which were issued for this purpose, he expresses himself in an enraged and vindic-

* Ryley, 504.

tive stile against Robert*. In this commission the Earl of Pembroke was likewise appointed lieutenant and captain over the counties of York and Northumberland; and all the military tenants of these counties were enjoined to follow his orders, in repressing and subduing Bruce and his adherents. Besides York and Northumberland, all the parts of Landon. to the borders of Dumfries, are placed under his jurisdiction †. The word Landon. is evidently a contraction; perhaps an error for Laudon. probably signifying Laudonia. In all the other rescripts in the Fœdera, of the same import, and they are numerous, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and sometimes Lancaster, are committed to the authority of the guardian, as Landon. or Laudon is here. These counties, therefore, may be the Laudonia or Laudon in England, which has so much puzzled our historians, even Lord Hailes, to account for, and for which the older kings of Scotland did homage to the English kings. In the present instance, Laudon cannot refer to the south-east parts of Scotland, because these are included in the

A. D. 1306.

* Foed. Angl. II. 988. Trivet. 342.

‡ Foed. Angl. loc. citat.

A. D. 1306. commission, as within the kingdom of Scotland; and these parts, in the Fœdera, are uniformly distinguished by the modern names of the shires, as Rokesburgh, Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh.

The authentic circumstance of the residence of Edward at Winchester completely invalidates the story formerly mentioned, of the escape of Bruce from London. After the sudden disappearance of a person of such consequence, and against whom such strong suspicions were entertained, Edward can scarcely be supposed to have gone to Winchester; where he seems to have resided in perfect tranquillity as to Bruce and Scotland, until the intelligence of the murder of Cumyn and the revolt of Bruce was conveyed to him.

Determined to exert every means within his power to punish Bruce in the most exemplary manner, Edward immediately dispatched a message to the Pope, giving an account of the sacrilegious violation of the sanctuary at Dumfries by the murder of Cumyn, and demanding the assistant thunder of the Holy See, in aid of his own temporal efforts, to crush Bruce and his adherents. The then pope, Clement V. had very lately been the subject of Edward. He was a native of Gas-

cony, and still resided in the city of Bourdeaux, of which he was archbishop before his recent elevation to the papacy. Losing no time to comply with the requisition of Edward, the Pope immediately issued a bull, authorising the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to denounce the sentence of excommunication against Bruce and all his adherents, and to place all their possessions under the horrors of an interdict*. The Scots churchmen, however, or at least such of them as adhered to the cause of Robert and their country, were by no means so submissive to the papal authority as to sanction this fulmination. In these circumstances, we may admire the wise foresight of Robert, or his singular good fortune, in having secured the adherence of the two chief Scots bishops. Had they supported the papal supremacy in its full extent, as exerted with most unbecoming partiality in favour of Edward, the most direful consequences must inevitably have followed, to Robert and to Scotland, from the excommunication and interdict. But, by steadily persisting to dispense the sacraments and or-

A. D. 1306.

* Foed. Angl. II. 997.

A. D. 1306. dinances of the church among their countrymen, and by influencing the inferior clergy to do the same, they divested the papal anathemas of all efficacy, and enabled Robert and his valliant followers to brave the dangers of war without being subjected to the terror of dying in a state of reprobation.

7 April. Before leaving Winchester, Edward transferred the duchy of Aquitain to the Prince of Wales. Having become aged and infirm, and unable to travel on horseback, either from rheumatism, or by having lost the use of his limbs, he proceeded by slow journeys from Winchester to London, in a chariot, or some species of wheel carriage*. Upon his arrival in London, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his son Edward of Caernarvon, Prince of Wales, on the Earls of Warrene and Arundel, and near three hundred other persons, mostly young men chosen from among the principal families of the kingdom; proposing to kindle a military ardour in his son and heir, which might compensate for his own age and decay, that his conquests might be maintained and his quarrels avenged by his destined successor. The ceremony of creating so many

* Trivet. 343. Hemingf. I. 221. Langtoft. II. 332.

new knights, was conducted at Westminster, on the day of Pentacost, with unusual splendour and solemnity. At a feast given upon the occasion, two swans, sumptuously decorated with golden ornaments, were brought in solemn procession before the king, amid the splendid company of his nobles and the new made knights. At this part of the ceremony the aged king made a solemn vow, "To the God of heaven, *and to the swans*," that he would execute severe vengeance upon Bruce, for the daring outrage which he had committed against God and the church: Declaring that, when he had performed this duty, he would never more unsheath his sword against a Christian enemy; but should hasten to Palestine, devoting the remainder of his days to wage war against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land, thence never to return from that sanctified warfare *. A. D. 1306. April.

In aid of his fathers vow, the Prince of Wales solemnly swore, " That he would not remain two nights in the same place until he reached Scotland †." Perhaps that age did not perceive the nature of this singular vow,

* M. Westm. 454. † Trivet, 343.

A. D. 1306. April.

made by the heir apparent for enabling the king his father to go into perpetual exile *. The new made knights, companions in arms of the Prince of Wales, devoted themselves to avenge the murder of Cumyn.

In execution of his duty as guardian, the Earl of Pembroke hastened into Scotland, accompanied by Robert de Clifford and Henry de Percy, on purpose to oppose the progress of Bruce †. Barbour says, that Pembroke was attended on this occasion by Philip de Mowbray, and Ingram or Ingelram de Umfrawell or Umphraville ‡. The Prince of Wales and his companions in arms followed Pembroke §. History has left us no memorials of the exploits of the prince and his new made knights on this occasion. But it has been said that they formed a kind of van-guard to the main army under the aged king, keeping always a days march in advance; and that, in executing their vows of vengeance, they ravaged and laid waste the whole country in their line of march, sparing no person of any age or sex that fell in their way: And that Edward, much displeased at this cruel mode of warfare,

* A. of S. II. 6.

† Id. ib.

‡ Barb. II. 211. 212.

§ A. of S. II. 6.

commanded his son to be merciful to the common people, who were mere instruments under the influence of their lords *. As, however, the king certainly never entered Scotland in this projected invasion, this part of the story cannot be authentic. A. D. 1306. April.

Having directed a large army to rendezvous at Carlisle on the 8th of July, the aged monarch, accompanied by the queen, was slowly conveyed towards the north in a horse-litter †. The English historians, both ancient and modern, assert that Edward marched an army into Scotland in 1306, and over-ran the whole country, destroying it with fire and sword, according to the then merciless conduct of conquerors. Doubtless such may have been his intentions: But, from the dates of numerous instruments in the Fœdera Angliae, it is certain that he did not personally invade Scotland that year; neither did he ever more enter that country, which he had devoted to remorseless destruction and complete servitude.

On the 2d July 1306 he was at Preston: 11th July at Tykentote, 12th July at East Stratton, 22d July at Beverly, 28th July at

* Ypod. Neustr. 498.

† A. of S. II. 6.

A. D. 1306. Thirsk, 14th August at Corbridge, 28th-31st August at Newburgh in Tindale, 6th and 7th September at Bradeleye, 11th September at Haltwhistle, 20th September at Thirlwall, 4th October at Lannercost, 7th October he makes mention in one of his dispatches from that place, of having been recovered from a dangerous illness by the care of Nicolas de Tynchewyk his physician. He appears to have remained at Lanercost during the months of October, November, and December 1306, and all January and February 1307; except that he seems to have been at Carlisle on the 5th February; and he had certainly returned to Lanercost by the 18th February. He was at Lynstock on the 6th of March; at Carlisle, or in that neighbourhood, from the 10th March to the beginning of July, except that he was at Wolvesey on the 6th April; and at Caldecotes on the 28th June. He died at Burgh-on-Sand on the 7th of July 1307, without having entered Scotland *.

The first important military enterprize of Robert, nearly three months after his coronation, was an attempt to reduce Perth, then in a great measure the capital of Scotland, and

* Foed. Angl. III. 1005,—1058.

where Pembroke the English guardian, having by this time taken possession of his office, had established his head-quarters. It is now impossible to account for the apparent inactivity of Robert during so long a period; and for his having made no attempt to seize upon Perth, or any other considerable fortress, before the arrival of the guardian with reinforcements. It must, therefore, be supposed, that he had been so long necessarily and anxiously employed in endeavouring to strengthen his cause, by increasing the number of his adherents, and in collecting a military force of sufficient magnitude for commencing hostilities; perhaps likewise in exacting the royal rents and duties, to furnish him with money for the expences of the war.

A. D. 1306. June.

In the present enterprize against Perth, the principal leaders of the Scots patriots under the king were, Edward Bruce his next brother, to whom he resigned the earldom of Carrick; the Earls of Lenox and Athole, Thomas Randolph the kings nephew, Hugh de la Hay brother to the Earl of Errol, Sir David Barclay, Frezil or Frazer, David of Inchmartin, and Robert Boyd. The forces under the king, and these his first adventurous companions in arms, were respectable. Barbour says, they

A. D. 1306. June. were only about fifteen hundred men fewer than the English forces at Perth commanded by Pembroke*. But he no where mentions the particular strength of either army.

19 June. Drawing near Perth, the King of Scots, according to the then customary forms of chivalry, sent a herald to challenge the English commander to battle in the open field. Pembroke returned for answer, that the day was already too far spent, but that he would join battle on the morrow. This reply, which was made the foundation of a successful stratagem for defeating the Scots, is said to have been suggested to Pembroke by Sir Ingelram de Umphraville†. Lulled into security by this apparently honourable acceptance of his challenge, Robert drew off his army to the neighbouring wood of Methven, only about six miles from Perth, where he proposed to establish his quarters for the night; and, relying on the honour of the English, no sufficient precautions appear to have been taken to guard against surprize.

Having received accurate intelligence of the negligent posture of the Scots troops, a considerable part of whom had been dispersed in

* Barb. II. 230. † Id. II. 252.

quest of forage, and the rest lodged and disarmed in careless security, Pembroke drew out his forces from Perth towards the close of day, and completely surprized the Scots, who were altogether unprepared to resist with any effect. All the English historians assert that the Scots forces, on this occasion, wore linen shirts over their armour for disguise, or rather that they might distinguish each other from their enemies during the darkness of the night. In the hurry, confusion, and dismay, necessarily incident upon this unexpected attack, the Scots made a feeble and unavailing resistance; in the course of which Philip de Mowbray is said to have unhorsed King Robert, who was rescued by Chrystal or Christopher de Seton, then acting as his particular esquire. According to one account, the king was thrice unhorsed, and thrice rescued and remounted by Simon Frazer *. It has even been said, that John de Haliburton, a Scotsman, who served in the English army, made the king prisoner, but set him at liberty on discovering who he was †. A. D. 1306. 19 June.

Hugh de la Hay, Inchmartin, Somerville, and Randolph were taken prisoners, and the

* M. Westm. 455. † Leland, II. 542.

A. D. 1306. 19 June.

whole Scots army was routed and dispersed. One Hutting, designed the marshal and standard-bearer of the King of Scots, is mentioned by M. Westminster among the prisoners *. This person is conjectured by Lord Hailes to have been Hugh de la Hay †. Hugh, the kings chaplain, is also said to have been made prisoner on this occasion ‡. Sir Alexander Frazer and Sir David Barclay are enumerated among the prisoners by Barbour §.

In this first disastrous essay in supreme military command, Robert committed several great errors. He rashly confided in the chivalric forms of an accepted challenge, without calculating upon the possibility of Pembroke employing this incident as a stratagem of war to circumvent him. He chose the situation of his quarters for the night much too near the position of a vigilant, experienced, and superior enemy. And he neglected the indispensible military precautions of guards, patroles, and alarm posts, so arranged as to give him instant intelligence of the slightest movements of the English. If necessary to have sent out detachments into the surrounding

* M. Westm. 455. † A. of S. II. 7.
‡ M. Westm. 455. § Barbour, II. 407. 408.

country, for forage and provisions, Robert ought to have drawn off to at least ten or twelve miles distance from Perth, and should have established his quarters in some strong ground, unassailable by cavalry, or secured by entrenchments; leaving small light detachments or picquets, with advanced centinels between him and the English, in every practicable avenue of approach. He and his faithful assistants, the valiant Douglas and Randolph, profited greatly in the sequel by the severe lesson which they now received; and they ever afterwards exerted the utmost skill and vigilance in all their future encounters with the English troops.

A. D. 1306. 19 June.

CHAPTER V.

From the Discomfiture of the Scots Patriots at Methven, 19*th June* 1306; *to the Retreat of Robert I. to the Isle of Rachrin, in the close of that year.*

A. D. 1306. AFTER his severe overthrow at Methven, the King of Scots retired into the fastnesses of the mountainous country of Athole, with the broken and dispirited remains of the army which he had led against Perth, now reduced to about five hundred men *. In this small but faithful band we are informed, that Edward Bruce, the Earls of Athole and Errol, Douglas, and Sir Niel Campbell, remained with the king. Barbour mentions a person under the denomination of Sir Wilyam the Boroundown as one of the Scots leaders who attended Robert at this crisis †. Who this may have been cannot be now ascertained ‡.

* Barbour, II. 476—491.

† Id. II. 479.

‡ In several parts of the Scotichronicon, the inhabitants of Botha, perhaps the Isle of Bute, are named Brandani; perhaps this may be the origin of the stile or title here employed. Ford. XIII. xxxii.

Having lurked for some time among the mountains of Athole, where they endured extreme hardships, the Scots were constrained to descend into the low country of Aberdeenshire, in search of provisions and forage. At Aberdeen, Robert met with his consort and many other ladies, who had been escorted to that place by Neil or Nigel Bruce, one of his brothers. A. D. 1306. June.

Learning that a superior force of English troops was advancing to attack them, the Scots were constrained to withdraw from the low country, and to take refuge among the mountains of Braidalbin, accompanied by their faithful ladies, who were resolved to brave the hardships of that inhospitable region, and the dangers of war in the society of their fathers and husbands *. As this measure must have been extremely distressing and uncomfortable to the ladies, and exceedingly inconvenient for the mode of war in which the king was now engaged, it was probably adopted from a well grounded apprehension that these ladies would otherwise have been detained as prisoners by the English, on purpose to compel their fa-

* Barbour, II. 513—517.

A. D. 1306. thers and husbands to desert the cause in which they were engaged.

In one of the ancient historians, the circumstance of the queen and other ladies joining Bruce upon the present occasion, is stated to have been in compliance with a mandate or proclamation from the English government, commanding the wives of all who continued to adhere to Bruce to follow their husbands; in consequence of which many women, both married and unmarried, who belonged to his adherents, joined the camp *. If any proclamation on this subject was issued, it would more probably order the wives of the adherents of Bruce into confinement; and the conduct of the ladies may be naturally enough accounted for, by a laudable desire to avoid the evils of imprisonment.

While wandering in the western mountainous region of Braidalbin, near the sources of the Upper Tay, the Scots royalists were often in great straits for provisions, which they had to procure by the precarious means of hunting and fishing. The *good* Sir James Douglas is particularly celebrated by Barbour, for his attention to the wants of the ladies upon

* Ford. XII. xi.

this occasion; by constantly and busily employing himself to procure venison for them and fish of various kinds. A. D. 1306.

> "And with hys handis quhiles * he wrocht
> Gynnys † to tak geddis ‡ and salmonys,
> Trowtys, elys, and als menownys §."—‖

The county or province of Argyle, which joins on the west with Braidalbin, was then under the sway of Alexander Lord of Argyle and Lorn, who had married the aunt of the late John Cumyn of Badenoch, and was therefore highly inimical to Robert, against whom he was eager to avenge the death of his kinsman. Having intelligence that the fugitive band of Scots patriots was wandering near the borders of his territories, Alexander drew together a body of near a thousand of his martial dependants, double the number of those who attended the king. With these he attacked the royal band, and a fierce but unequal combat ensued; in the course of which the Earl of Errol and Sir James Douglas were 11 Aug.
wounded, and the greatly overmatched roya-

P 2

* Sometimes. † Springes. ‡ Pikes. § Minnows.
‖ Barb. II. 575—577.

A. D. 1306. 11 Aug.

lists were constrained to seek for safety in a precipitate retreat *. The place of this defeat is still remembered in the tradition of the country, and is called Dalry or the Kings field. It is situate near the modern village of Clifton in Strathfillan, at the head of the river Tay, and on the western confines of that district of Perthshire still named Braidalbin †.

On purpose to secure the retreat of his defeated party, the king placed himself in the rear of his disordered troops, and repeatedly checked the pursuit by exerting the most strenuous efforts of determined and persevering valour. On this occasion, Barbour relates the following story respecting a perilous conflict with two brothers named Makendorser, which he explains as signifying the sons of the Durward, Hostiarius, or Porter: Perhaps their family held the hereditary office of porter to the Lord of Argyle and Lorn. These brothers, together with a third person not named, had entered into a vow that, if they encountered Robert, they should either make him prisoner, or slay him, or perish in the at-

* Ford. XII. ii. Barb. III. 1—45.

† Stat. Ac. of Sc.

tempt. During the pursuit, they overtook the king at a narrow pass between a loch and a steep *brae* or precipitous bank, and assailed him all at once. One of them seized the kings horse by the bridle, but Robert instantly cut off his arm. Another got hold of Roberts foot within the stirrup iron, with the intention of unhorsing him. But, standing up in the stirrup, and clapping spurs to his horse, the king galloped off, dragging the unfortunate assailant by the hand. The third person leaped up behind the king, in hope of pinnioning his arms and making him prisoner, or of stabbing him in the back: But, turning round and exerting his utmost strength, Robert forced him forwards upon the horses neck and slew him; after which he killed the miserable wretch whom he dragged at his stirrup *. The men of Argyle being much daunted by the prowess evinced by the king, and probably witnesses of this extraordinary feat, Alexander discontinued the pursuit and withdrew to his own country †.

A. D. 1306. 11 Aug.

In the account of the perilous situation of Robert at this period, Barbour mentions a Baron Macknaughton, one of the followers

* Barb. III. 93—144. † Id. III. 147—186.

A. D. 1306. 11 Aug. of Argyle, who greatly admired the chivalric valour of the king, and his excellent conduct in guarding the rear of his flying adherents; more especially expressing his admiration of the extraordinary efforts by which he had extricated himself from the assault of the Mackindorsers. Lord Lorn upbraided this person, as if rejoicing at the destruction of his best men; but Macknaughton repelled the charge, by observing that the praise of valorous deeds was justly due whether to friend or foe *.

Ever since the fatal rout at Methven, the king and his small band had procured a hardy and uncertain subsistance, by the chase of the wild animals of the hills, and by fishing in the lochs and mountain streams. But, as winter began to approach, it became necessary to consider of other means of procuring support during the inclement season, when forage and provisions could not be procured in the unhospitable highland mountains; while the weakness of the royal party made it utterly unsafe to venture into the low country, then occupied by the English or their Scots partizans. Accordingly, Robert sent away the queen and the other ladies under the es-

* Barbour, III. 153—180.

cort of all his remaining cavalry, which seems to have been about three hundred men, commanded by his brother Nigel, with directions to take refuge in the strong castle of Kildrummie. Barbour says that the Earl of Athole was one of the commanders of the escort on this occasion *. This is highly probable, as he was among the number of the prisoners who were executed after the surrender of that fortress. But it has been alleged that this Earl attempted to escape by sea immediately after the derout at Methven; and, being discovered, was carried prisoner to London, where he was put to death as a traitor †. A. D. 1306.

After sending, as he thought, the queen and her ladies to a place of safety, Robert resolved to attempt forcing a passage into Cantire, at the head of about two hundred infantry which still remained with himself; and from thence to cross over into the north of Ireland ‡; perhaps, trusting to receive assistance or protection from the Earl of Ulster. In pursuance of this resolution, he dispatched Sir Neil Campbell before him into Cantire,

* Barb. III. 335. † A. of S. II. 9.

‡ A. of S. II. 9.

A. D. 1306. to provide vessels and provisions for the voyage *.

While wandering about in a hopeless and forlorn condition, Bruce is said to have endeavoured to amuse and raise the depressed spirits of his followers, by recounting stories of unexpected revivals of fortune in adverse circumstances. Particularly, reciting the example of Rome after the fatal battle of Cannae, when Hannibal sent *three bolls* of rich rings to Carthage, which had been taken from the fingers of the slaughtered knights; and had even several times marched his army close to the walls of the Capitol: Yet Rome had recovered from her low estate, and had finally prevailed over Hannibal and all her enemies, by persevering and spirited efforts of fortitude and bravery; sometimes by the employment of subtle devices, and at other times by open strength †.

In their attempts to reach Cantire, the progress of the royalists was interrupted by Lochlomond, over which they had no means to pass. They dared not to travel round the lower end of the lake, lest they should encounter the forces of Argyle, and they were

* Barb. III. 392. † Id. III. 191—266.

anxious to get into the friendly country of the Earl of Lenox, now the county of Dunbarton. After a long search, a small leaky boat, only capable of carrying three persons, was discovered by Douglas, in which the king and he were ferried over. The rest of the party followed; some by means of the boat in frequent trips, and others by swimming. After this passage, and while his people were refreshing themselves, it is said that the king entertained them by reading aloud the romance of the worthy Ferembras, and an account of the siege of Duke Paris in the tower of Egrymor by King Lawyn *. A. D. 1306.

At this period, while wandering in the adjacent forest, and reduced to the extremity of famine, the king and his party fortunately encountered the Earl of Lenox, ignorant till then of the fate of his sovereign, of whom he had received no intelligence since the discomfeiture at Methven. Lennox is said to have supplied them abundantly with provisions †.

At Craigrostan, in the parish of Buchanan and county of Stirling, there are several caves, one of which is commonly known at this day by the name of King Roberts cave, from the

* Barb. III. 435—462. † Id. III. 482.

A. D. 1306. following traditionary story. After his defeat at Dalry, as already recounted, and on his retreat into Lennox, the king crossed the water of Falloch with a small number of attendants, and came down the north side of Loch-lomond to Craigrostan. Night coming on, he took refuge in this cave, where he slept all night surrounded by a flock of goats which usually harboured there. The tradition adds, that he was so much pleased with the comfortable night which he passed among these companions, that he afterwards made a law that goats should in future be exempted from grass-mail, or rent-free. On the next day, according to this tradition, he reached the house of Buchanan of Buchanan, by whom he was conducted to the Earl of Lenox*.

Having received ample refreshment from the earl of Lenox, Robert and his small party proceeded to Cantire, where they were hospitably received by Angus of Isla, Lord of Cantire, into his castle of Dunaverty. Barbour calls this place the castle of Dunabardyne; and adds that Angus swore fealty to

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. IX. 14.

the king, and engaged to render him every assistance in his power *. A. D. 1306.

After remaining three days at Dunaverty to recruit their strength and spirits, the king and his few remaining companions embarked in some small vessels which had been provided by Sir Nigel Campbell, and passed over to the small island of Rachrin on the northern coast of Ireland, where they remained during the ensuing winter †. Thus, utterly foiled in his hopes of atchieving the emancipation of his country from the English domination, Robert was constrained to seek for present safety as a fugitive and a proscribed wanderer, and to conceal himself by voluntary exile among the rude inhabitants of a remote island: But his unconquerable spirit, undismayed by this most unpromising state of adversity into which he had been precipitated, employed the safe obscurity of his present retreat in devising plans for the conduct of his future operations. With the returning spring, he emerged from this hiding-place; and, though beset with infinite and discouraging difficulties, he ultimately prevailed in his glorious and patriotic enterprize.

* Barbour, III. 659—664. † A. of S. II. 9.

A. D. 1306. At the first landing of the Scots on this island, the inhabitants were much alarmed by the appearance of so many armed strangers, and fled to a castle or strength in the interior for defence. But, assured of the peaceable intentions of the seeming invaders, and won by the affability and conciliatory manners of the king, they were soon so thoroughly reconciled as to supply the Scots party with provisions during the winter; and many of them pledged their allegiance to Robert, engaging to join in the support of his cause, then apparently devoid of hope *.

* Barb. III. 728—750.

CHAPTER VI.

Transactions in Scotland, from the Retreat of Robert I. to Rachrin, in Winter 1306, *to his Return in Spring* 1307.

WHILE Robert thus lurked in the small and remote isle of Rachrin, constrained by adverse fortune to abandon the kingdom he had resolved to atchieve, a miserable destiny overwhelmed many of the friends and partizans whom he had left in Scotland. A. D. 1306.

Irritated at the repeated revolts of the Scots whom he angrily deemed rebellious subjects, and particularly indignant against Bruce for daring to assert a title to the throne, Edward issued an angry ordinance addressed to the guardian of Scotland, by which Pembroke was commanded to proclaim, "That all the people of Scotland should search for and pursue every person who had been in arms against the English government, and who had not surrendered themselves to mercy; and should

A. D. 1306. also apprehend, dead or alive, all who had been guilty of other crimes." All who might be negligent in executing the duty here imposed, were threatened with the forfeiture of their castles, and were to be imprisoned during pleasure. The guardian was likewise commanded to punish, at his discretion, all who might harbour any of the offenders described in this ordinance.

It was farther ordered, that all who were present at the slaughter of Cumyn, who were abettors of that deed, or who voluntarily and knowingly harboured any of the guilty persons or their adherents, should be drawn and hanged; that all those already taken in arms, or who might afterwards be so taken, and all who harboured such persons, should be hanged or beheaded. The most distinguished and most dangerous of those who had been in arms, and had surrendered themselves to mercy, were ordered to be imprisoned during the kings pleasure. All persons, ecclesiastical as well as laymen, who had willingly espoused the party of Bruce, or who had procured or exhorted the people of Scotland to rebel, were, on conviction, to be imprisoned during the kings pleasure. A discretionary power was confided to the guardian, to fine or ransom

such of the common people as had been constrained to take up arms *. This last clause of lenity must have been in allusion to the state of feudal vassalage, by which the people were thus obliged to attend in arms, on the command of their lords. A. D. 1306.

In consequence of the movements of the English forces in the north of Scotland, the castle of Kildrummy appeared to be threatened. Elizabeth, Roberts consort, and Marjory his daughter by a former marriage, with the other ladies who had been sent to that place for safety, dreading the hardships and dangers of a siege, fled from thence to the sanctuary of St Duthac, at Tain in Ross-shire, called the Gyrth of Tayne by Barbour. The Earl of Ross, violating the sanctuary, made them all prisoners, and delivered them up to the English †. Without mentioning the Earl, Barbour only says, that the men of Ross, unwilling to incur the vengeance of Edward, by protecting the ladies of his enemies, took them from the sanctuary and sent them prisoners into England, where they were committed to different prisons; and certain knights and squires, whom he does not name, who

* Ryley, 510. † Ford. XII. xi.

A. D. 1306. had escorted the ladies from Kildrummy to Tain, being taken at the same time, were put to death*.

Though she suffered a long captivity, Elizabeth appears to have been even generously treated in England. She was ordered to be conveyed to the manor of Brustewick. Richard Oysel, steward of Holderness, was commanded to appoint the best house in the manor for her residence, at her own choice; and she was to be permitted to amuse herself in the parks, and all over the manor, at her pleasure; for which purpose three grey hounds were to be kept for her use, with which she might sport in the parks and warrens when she pleased. Venison and fish were ordered to be supplied for her table, as wanted. Her female attendants were to be a gentlewoman and a chamber-woman, both aged and not gay, but of good and staid manners. Likewise two aged and discreet esquires; whereof one should be John de Bently, one of the esquires belonging to the Earl of *Ulvestier*, (Ulster) or any other whom that earl might substitute. Besides these, a well behaved person to keep the keys, and to act as

* Barbour, IV 39—56.

butler and pantry man, or clerk of the kitchen, and a cook: likewise a footman to remain in the chamber, one who was sober and not riotous, to make her bed *. A. D. 1306.

In comparison with the manners of modern times, this last circumstance in the order has a singular appearance; yet it is said that, even in the present times, the English office of chambermaid is discharged by men servants in genteel houses in France. Three greyhounds were ordered to be kept for her amusement, when she might be inclined to hunt.

In June 1308, Elizabeth was ordered to be removed from Brustewyk to another place of confinement not particularized in the record, but still under the charge of John Bently †. On the 6th February 1312, she was transferred to Windsor castle with her former attendants ‡. On the 8th October of the same year, she was removed to Shaston, under the charge of John Bently and Thomas Skidemore §. In both of these places, twenty shillings weekly, equal in efficacy to fifteen pounds of our modern money, was allowed

* Foed. Angl. II. 1014.

† Id. III. 94.

‡ Id. III. 302.

§ Id. III. 352.

A. D. 1306. for her expences *. In 1313 she was removed to Shaftesbury. On the 12th March 1314, at which time she appears to have resided with the Abbess of Barking, she was ordered to be removed to the castle of Rochester, with allowance to walk about the castle, and in the grounds of the adjoining priory of St Andrew, but always in safe custody †. On the 18th July of that year, she was ordered to be brought to Edwards presence at York ‡. In October she was transferred to Carlisle §: And was restored to liberty about the close of that year, after a captivity of eight years. Marjory, the daughter of Robert by his former wife, and his sister Christina, the wife of Christopher Seton, were consigned to the care of Henry Percy, who confined them in separate convents ||. Mary, another sister of Bruce, was committed to custody in one of the towers of Roxburgh castle, and in a cage similar to that afterwards specified for the Countess of Buchan ¶.

Mathew of Westminster gives a very fabulous account of Elizabeth the wife of Bruce.

* Foed. Angl. III. 385.

† Id. III. 475.

‡ Id. II. 489.

§ Id. III. 496.

|| Id. III. 1014.

¶ Id. ib.

He says, that when returning from his coronation at Scone, Robert addressed his consort in words to the following effect: "Yesterday we were earl and countess, now we are king and queen." That to this she made answer: "You may be a summer king, but I suspect you will not be a winter king." According to the story, Robert was enraged by this contemptuous speech, and would immediately have killed her, but was prevented by the attendants. He banished her, however, to Ireland; and her father the Earl of Ulster, transmitted her to the King of England*. These circumstances are so completely absurd, and so utterly incompatible with the other facts, as not to require confutation, or even to deserve a commentary: They serve, however, as an example of the caution with which the authority of ancient chronicle writers requires to be followed. A. D. 1306.

The patriot heroine, Isabella, countess of Buchan, who had crowned or enthroned Robert at Scone, having been made prisoner at Tain, was committed to close imprisonment in the castle of Berwick. The manner of her confinement was attended by circumstances

* M. Westm. 454.

A. D. 1306.

of peculiar rigour; but which have been magnified and distorted into strange and absurd chimeras of fancied capricious tyranny. The actual particulars of her durance, as directed by the ordinance of Edward, which still remains on record, were sufficiently severe; and are as follows.

" Be it commanded, that the chamberlain of Scotland, or his deputy at Berwick upon Tweed, shall cause a *cage* to be constructed in one of the towers of the castle of Berwick, and in the place which he shall find most convenient for the purpose. This cage shall be strongly latticed and cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron; and in it he shall confine the Countess of Buchan; taking especial care that she be therein so well and safely guarded, that in no sort she may issue therefrom. He shall appoint one or more women of Berwick, who shall be English and liable to no suspicion, who shall minister to the said countess in eating and drinking, and in all things else convenient, in her said lodging-place. He shall cause her to be so carefully and strictly guarded in the said cage, that she may not be permitted to converse with any person whomsoever of

the Scots nation, or with any one else, saving with the women who attend upon her, and the guard who may have the custody of her person. The cage shall be so constructed that the countess may have therein the convenience of a decent chamber; yet all things shall be so well and surely ordered, that no peril may arise respecting the secure custody of the said countess: And the person into whose custody she may be committed shall be responsible, body for body; and he shall be allowed his reasonable charges *." A. D. 1306.

Upon this simple yet tyrannical order, for confining a woman in peculiarly strong and severe durance, like a malefactor of the deepest dye, M. Westminster has fabricated a very curious exhibition of the countess hung out in a cage at a window in the open air, like a parrot or a squirrel. "That most impious conspiratrix, the countess of Buchan being likewise apprehended, the king commanded that, since she had not used the sword, her life should be spared; but, in regard of her illegal conspiracy, she should be confined in a building constructed of stone and iron, having the shape of a crown, and suspended in the same

* Foed. Angl. II. 1014.

A. D. 1306. at Berwick in the open air; that she might thereby become a spectacle to all passengers, both during her life and after her death, and a perpetual example of opprobrium *."

Other English historians have repeated this story after M. Westminster. Abercrombie cannot therefore be blamed for saying, that she was confined in a wooden cage, shaped like a crown, and hung out in that tormenting posture, upon high walls or turrets, to be gazed upon and reproached by the meanest of the people †.

Hemingford relates the story in a somewhat different manner. He says, that her husband the Earl of Buchan sought to kill her on account of her treason; but that Edward restrained him, and ordered her to be confined in a wooden cage ‡. A similar contrivance is still used in many jails for the confinement of condemned malefactors, and such as are supposed liable to rescue or escape.

The patriotic spirit of the Countess, however indignant at the opprobrious severity to which she was subjected, was not to be broken by the oppressive nature of the treatment

* M. Westm. 455. † Mart. Atch. I. 579.

‡ Hemingf. I. 221.

she endured. She appears to have remained in durance at Berwick for about seven years; as a warrant was issued by Edward II. on the 23d April 1313, to the constable of Berwick, directing her to be delivered over to the custody of Henry de Beaumont, or his attorney William de Felyng, who are ordered to have her in charge *. A. D. 1306.

The Bishop of St Andrews, who became a prisoner in the present desperate situation of Scots affairs, owed his personal safety to the dignity and inviolability of his ecclesiastical character. Had he been a layman, there can be no doubt that Edward would have inflicted a capital punishment, for what he was pleased to consider as complicated treason. It has been alleged that the duplicity of his conduct merited the severest vengeance; and the following transaction is adduced as a proof of his criminality.

The Stewart of Scotland had given his eldest son, Andrew, as an hostage to Edward, in security for his loyalty; and Edward had committed the young man to the care and custody of Lamberton. On receiving intelligence of the slaughter of Cumyn, and the

* Foed. Angl. III. 401.

A. D. 1306. revolt of Bruce, Edward demanded back the youth from the bishop, for the purpose of securing the father's fidelity. But the bishop gave his charge into the hands of Bruce, as appears from a record of the examination of Lamberton before commissioners appointed
9 Aug. by Edward *. It is not improbable that the circumstances of the story already mentioned from Barbour, respecting the junction of Douglas with Bruce, by the secret collusion of the Bishop of St Andrews, may have originated from this transaction in regard to the young Stewart †.

It likewise appears, that Lamberton had been accused to Pembroke, the guardian, of having been some how implicated in the slaughter of Cumyn. But, in the following curious letter, the bishop not only asserted his innocence of this charge, but utterly disclaimed any concern whatever in the insurrection of Bruce, and offered to make every submission to the king of England ‡.

"Unto the noble and wise Monsieur Aymar de Valence, lord of Montignac, lieutenant of our Lord the King in Scotland, William, by

* A. of S. II. 13. † Barb. II. 91. et seq.

‡ A. of S. II. 14.

the grace of God, bishop of St Andrews, wisheth health in God. Be it known to you, that we, as in duty bound, have voluntarily agreed to clear ourselves, in whatever manner our Lord the King and his council shall appoint, of any accession whatsoever to the death of the Lord John Cumyn, and of the Lord Robert his uncle, or of any participation in the rise of the present war; and we engage to clear ourselves in the premises, both with regard to the kindred of the deceased, and to the peace of our Lord the King: And if we fail therein, we consent to remain at the pleasure of our Lord the King, as convicted. And in regard to whatever else our Lord the King may have to allege against us we submit entirely to his pleasure. In testimony of our readiness to perform all these premises to the said Lord Aymar, we have made these our letters patent, and sealed them with our seal, at Scotland-well, this 9th June, in the 34th year of the reign of King Edward." A. D. 1306.

As this transaction took place a short while before the unfortunate issue of the enterprize against Perth, it might have been mentioned under its proper date: But it seemed better to concentrate all the charges against Lamberton together, although not in exact chro-

A. D. 1306. nological order. Immediately after this singular epistle, he renewed his oath of allegiance to Edward, in presence of the guardian; and, under pretence of urgent business, he obtained leave to return to his diocese. Regardless of his oaths, he immediately assembled a considerable body of his dependants, and of the vassals of his see, whom he sent to join the army of Robert in the attempt against Perth *.

In certain unpublished records at London †, there is a memorandum for drawing up charges against Lamberton, to be presented to the Pope, of which the following is the substance. " A short time before the Sunday on which Robert the Bruce, and all his power, gave battle to the Lord Aymar de Valence and his troops of the part of our Lord the King, the Bishop of St Andrews compeared before the said Lord Aymar, and returning to the faith and peace of our Lord the King submitted himself to his grace and pleasure, and was admitted to the same, making oath to the said Lord Aymar, in the name of our Lord the King, to continue faithful. And it appears subsequently, that, during three or four days

* A. of S. II. 15. † Quoted in A. of S. II. 15. note *.

previous to the foresaid battle, having asked and obtained permission from the said Lord Aymar to employ himself in some of his own affairs, he used his most strenuous efforts to collect certain armed horsemen and others of his people, whom he sent to the assistance of the said Robert the Bruce, in the said battle against the said Lord Aymar and his troops; as on that day evidently appeared, both by some of these men having been taken prisoners, and by the dead bodies of others." A. D. 1306.

After his examination before the commissioners at Newcastle, the Bishop of St Andrews was committed prisoner to the castle of Nottingham; from whence he was afterwards removed to the tower of the castle of Winchester *. In both instances he was probably confided to the safe custody of the bishops of these sees, who would respectively be held responsible for his secure detention. 9 June.

Robert Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, who adhered to the party of Bruce, having taken refuge in the castle of Cupar in Fife, which was held against the English, was there besieged by a detachment from the army of Pembroke, probably subsequent to the rout

* Foed. Angl. II. 1015. 1016.

A. D. 1306. of Methven, and, being constrained to surrender, was carried prisoner into England, where he was confined to the castle of Nottingham *. According to M. Westminster, the English army over-ran all Scotland, after the victory of Methven, in pursuit of the fugitives of the Brucean party, of whom they killed many, and made many others prisoners. The Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone, were taken clad in armour under their upper garments, and were sent into England in their uncanonical habiliments †.

Edward applied to the Pope to have the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow deposed for their opposition to his usurped authority, which he chose to denominate rebellion; and requested that William Cumyn, brother to the Earl of Buchan, might be appointed to the see of St Andrews, and Jeffrey de Mowbray to that of Glasgow ‡. It does not appear, however, that this request was ever complied with; but it is certain that the King of England condemned them to perpetual imprisonment, and escheated their temporalities. In

* M. Westm. 455. † Id. ib.

‡ Foed. Angl. II. 1025.

the fluctuating politics of his son and successor, we shall find him extending his clemency, and even favour, especially to Lamberton; and again requiring the Pope to substitute another person in the see of St Andrews *. Both of them recovered their liberties and dignities in the sequel. A. D. 1306.

The castle of Kildrummy was besieged by the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford †; Barbour says, by Edward of Caernarvon, Prince of Wales, with the assistance of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford ‡. But the person who then designed himself Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, was Ralph de Monthermer, who had married the widow of the late Earl, and assumed the title, as administrator, till his step-son became of age. During the siege, a person of the name of Hosbarne, or Osburn, one of the garrison, treacherously set fire to the magazine of the castle, by throwing a piece of iron into a heap of grain collected in the hall §. The garrison, thus deprived of provisions, was constrained to surrender at discretion.

* Foed. Angl. III. 710.

† Leland, II. 543.

‡ Barb. IV. 73—78.

§ Id. IV. 105—155.

A. D. 1306. Nigel, or Neil Bruce, one of the brothers of Robert, being among the captives, was carried prisoner to Berwick; where he was tried and condemned by a special commission, and afterwards beheaded *. M. Westminster mentions Neil Bruce as a young man of a very beautiful appearance, and says that he was taken at a castle in Cantire, which the English had besieged under the impression that Robert had taken shelter there. The same thing is said by Trivet; but the authority of Barbour seems preferable, who distinctly names Nigel Bruce as the leader of the Scots escort which conveyed the ladies to Kildrummy, and expressly mentions him as being made prisoner at the capture of that place †.

Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Robert, being taken by the English, was carried prisoner to Dumfries, where he was tried, condemned, and executed. Trivet says, that he was taken at the castle of Lochore; and, being an Englishman, was tried previously to his execution ‡. Barbour asserts that he was betrayed to the English by a person of the name of M'Nab, his confidential and familiar

* A. of S. II. 16. † M. Westm. 455.
Trivet. 344. Barb. IV. 61. ‡ Trivet, 365.

friend *. He had married Christina Bruce, one of the sisters of Robert, and had assisted or been present at the murder of Cumyn. Alexander Seton, the brother of Christopher, being likewise made prisoner, was executed at Newcastle †. A. D. 1306.

John de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, attempted to make his escape by sea, either after the discomfiture of Methven or the capture of Kildrummy, but was discovered and carried prisoner to London, where he was capitally punished. "Being hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, he was cut down when only half dead, that he might feel greater torments, and was then cruelly beheaded. The trunk of his body was burnt to ashes *before his own face* ‡." Langtoft says, "He was not drawn, that point of punishment being remitted §." The Scala Chronicle says, "The Counte of Athelis, by cause he was Cosyn to the King of England, and sunne to Maude of Doure, his Aunte, was sent to London, and there was hangid apon a pair of Galows thirty foote hyer than the other ||." 7 Nov.

* Barbour, IV. 19.
† A. of S. II. 16.
‡ M. Westm. 456.
§ Langtoft. II. 335.
|| Scal. Chron. ap Leland, II. 543.

A. D. 1306. 7 Nov.

Maude, or Matilda, of Dour or Doure, the mother of the Earl of Athole, was cousin-german to Edward I. being a daughter of Richard the natural son of King John *. Mathew of Westminster relates that Edward, although then very grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with greater ease after hearing of the capture of the Earl of Athole †.

Barbour expressly says, that the Earl of Athole was of the escort to the queen and ladies in their journey to Kildrummy ‡. And, in relating the siege of that castle, as if prophetically conscious that a different account would be given of his capture by other historians, he uses the following expressions.

> " That tyme wes in Kyldromy,
> With men that wycht war and hardy ;
> Schyr Nele the Bruce, *and I wate weill* §
> That thar the Erle wes off Adheill ."—||

Simon Frazer of Olivar Castle, a renowned warrior, who is said to have been scarcely inferior in strength and bravery to Wallace,

* A. of S. II. † M. Westm. 456.

‡ Barbour, IV. 62. § Well know.

|| Barbour, IV. 59—62.

was executed at London, and his head was placed on the point of a lance near that of the immortal champion of Scotland, in conjunction with whom he had fought in the cause of his country, and had refused along with him to surrender to the mercy of Edward in 1304, after the submission of Cumyn. Langtoft has these two verses on the death of this valiant Scotsman: A. D. 1306.

> "Alas it was to mene *, his virtus and his pruesse
> So fele in him were seen †, that perisit for falsness."—‡

With him Herbert de Norham suffered. "They had both repeatedly sworn fealty to Edward §." This observation of our illustrious annalist, though just in point of fact, is altogether inconclusive. The gallant Wallace, who had never sworn fealty, equally suffered the death of a traitor; and numbers who had sworn frequently, and had repeatedly broken their oaths, were not capitally punished when taken.

Many other Scotsmen of inferior rank were executed as rebels. When mentioning the

* To be deplored. † So abundantly conspicuous.

‡ Langtoft, II. 335. § A. of S. II. 17.

A. D. 1306. execution of Hugh the kings chaplain, M. Westminster says, "That he was first affixed to the gallows, as if saying, I your presbyter or deacon show you the way *." On this strange levity it has been remarked, that, being himself an ecclesiastic, he might have recollected that to hang a churchman by civil authority was no jesting matter †. Barbour relates that, when the pleasure of Edward was demanded respecting those who had been made captive in this Scots war, he angrily answered, "Hang and draw them all ‡."

The following reflexions by Barbour are excellently applicable to the remorseless conduct of the aged King of England, now on his death-bed, to the unfortunate Scots captives.

"That wes wondir of sic § sawis
That he, that to the dede wes ner,
Suld ansuer upon sic || maner:
Forowtyn menyng ¶ and mercy,
How mycht he traist on hym to cry," &c.—**

At this period according to Barbour, Macus bishop of the Isle of Man, being suspect-

* M. Westm. 455. † A. of S. II. 17.
‡ Barbour, IV. 322.
§ Among those who witnessed. || Such. ¶ Devoid of pity.
** Barbour, IV. 323—327.

ed of favouring the cause of Robert, was thrown into prison. He alleges, likewise, that Sir Rannald Crawford and Sir Bryce Blair were executed about this time at the Barns of Air*. But we shall find hereafter strong reason to conclude that Crawford was not put to death until a later period. A. D. 1306.

Many persons of considerable distinction who had taken part with Bruce, having submitted themselves to the pleasure of Edward, were only slightly punished, and some were even taken into favour. Among these were Allan earl of Menteith, Sir Patrick de Graham, Sir William de Moray de Sandford, Sir Walter de Moray, Sir Hugh Lovel, and his brother William †. Malise earl of Strathern, being accused as an accomplice in the revolt of the Scots, successfully pleaded, "That, when he refused to do homage to Bruce, Robert Boyd said to his king put him to death and give me his lands, and cut off the heads of all those who refuse to do homage to you ‡." Randolph, the nephew of Bruce, obtained mercy through the intercession of Adam o

* Barb. IV. 36—38. † Foed. Angl. II. 1012—1014.

‡ A. of S. II. 19.

A. D. 1306. Gordon, and was admitted to swear fealty to Edward. The young Earl of Marre, nephew to the first wife of Bruce, was imprisoned in the castle of Bristol, but was ordered not to be put in irons, in respect to his tender years, and was allowed to walk about the castle yards and the garden; a proof of the close severity with which the other prisoners of state were then treated *.

In the Fœdera Angliæ, II. 1012, 1013, 1014, there is a list or memorandum of the names of many of those who had adhered to the cause of Robert de Brus formerly Earl of Carrick; and had then surrendered to the peace and will of Edward I. and were ordered to be imprisoned. This seems only to have been a scroll, and contains some repetitions, and some names not easily explicable. Yet, as containing a curious enumeration of ancient Scots persons of eminence, is here abstracted.

1. Alan, Earl of Menteith, committed to the charge of John de Hastings.

2. The infant heir of Mar, already mentioned.

3, 4, 5. Patrick de Graham, Walter de *Russhi* (Russel ?), and Richard de Nieütrobre (*sic*) Esquires, to be kept in irons in the tower of London.

* A. of S. II. 19.

6, 7. Hugh Lovel and William de Moray de Sandford, to be kept in irons in Windsor castle. A. D. 1306.

8. Walter de Moray, to be entrusted to Robert Fitz-Paegn, or committed to close custody in Corf castle.

9, 10. John de Vaus of Dirleton castle, and Alexander de Seton, now on a voyage with John de Mowbray, to be made prisoners on their return, and sent to England.

11. David, son and heir of the Earl of Athole, to the custody of the Earl of Gloucester.

12. The wife of the Earl of Carrick. Her treatment already mentioned.

13. The Countess of Buchan. The severity of her durance already particularized.

14. Mary, the sister of Robert de Brus, to be confined in a *cage* in Rokesburgh castle, precisely in the same manner with the Countess of Buchan. All former historians have overlooked this circumstance, because in the Fœdera the particulars of her severe durance are not specified; being merely referred to those already ordered for the Countess of Buchan.

15, 16. Margerie, the daughter of Robert, to be kept in safe custody by Henry de Percy; and Christian, his sister, widow of Christopher Seton, to be confined in England.

17. The Earl of Strathern, when he comes to the king, to be confined in the tower of Rochester.

18. John, Earl of Ascelles (Athol), was brought to London by the Lord Hugh le Despenser.

19. Margiree, the daughter of Bruce: A repetition.

20. Sir Walter de Moray, sent to Windsor by the Earl of Lincoln: A repetition.

21. Sir Hugh Lovel, sent to Gloucester by Sir John Lovel: A repetition.

A. D. 1306. 22. William Lovel, brother of Sir Hugh, sent to Nottingham by Walter de Bedewnde.

23. Sir William de Moray de Sandford, sent to Corf castle by Sir William de Montague: A repetition.

24. The wife of William Wysman, sent to Rokesburgh castle, to the charge of Sir Ro. de Manley sheriff of Rokesburgh.

25. Sir Thomas Randolf, delivered to the custody of the Earl of Lincoln.

26. The son of Sir Simon Frazer, made prisoner by Sir David de Brechin, to be committed to the custody of Sir John Segrave, or Lord Aymer de Valence; and his own lands impledged to them for his remaining a prisoner. He seems to have been on parole.

27. Sir Patrick de Graham, sent under the escort of six horsemen, to be committed to some castle in England.

Although it does not appear that James, the Stewart of Scotland, had joined in the revolt, he was summoned to appear before Edward, and did homage in person at Lanner-
23 Oct. cost near Carlisle, taking a new oath of fidelity, which he did upon the two crosses most esteemed for sanctity in Scotland, called La Croix Neyts, and La Blacke Rode, and upon the consecrated host, the holy gospels, and the relics of the saints; farther submitting himself to instant excommunication in case of violating this complicated oath *.

* Foed. Angl. II. 1022.

The Fœdera Angliæ, II. 1015, contains the following list of persons who did homage to Edward I. on the 15th March 1306, for lands in Scotland; which is here inserted as an additional record of ancient eminent Scots persons. A. D. 1306.

1. The Lady Isabella, wife of Sir Edmund de Hastings; for lands in the shires of Stirling and Forfar.
2. Ace (Alice) de Kynros; for lands in the shire of Perth.
3. William le Flemengs; for lands in the shire of Edinburgh.
4. Sir Rodolph de Dundee; for lands in the shire of Perth.
5. Sir William de Ramsay; — Berw. & Edin.
6. Sir Patrick de St Michael (Carmichael); — Aberdeen.
7. Alan de Moray; — — Forres & Fife.
8. William de Charteris; — Roxb. & Banf.
9. Aymer de Hauden; — Roxb. & Peebles.
10. Walter de Bikerton; — Fife.
11. Duncan Scot; — — Forfar.
12. Humfrey de Middleton; — Kincardine.
13. Hugh de Newton; — — Haddington.
14. William de Malevill; — — Peebles.
15. Duncan de Bredenath; — — Fife.
16. John, son of Duncan, or Duncanson; for lands in the shire of *Ivervarn* (Inverness or Nairn?).
17. John de Beccrwell; for lands in the shire of Perth.
18. Martin de Adbretiban *(sic)*; — Perth.
19. Malmory Mak Laweman *(sic)*; — Argyle.
20. John de Cranmond (Cramond); — Edin.
21. John de Aghelek (Auchinleck); — Angus.

A. D. 1306.

22. Sir Hugh de Penicok (Pennycuick); for lands in the shire of Edinburgh.
23. Roger de Almer; — — Selkirk.
24. Roger de Kynard; — — Fife.
25. Henry de Brade; — — Edin.
26. The Lady Alice, widow of Thomas de Soules.
27. Margaret de Blair, wife of Thomas de Blund (Blair) — — — Forfar & Stirl.
28. Helen de Carentelegh (Kirkintulloch ?) Lanerk.
29. Thomas de Maccolan *(sic)*; } — Edin.
30. Ade de Dalmahoy; }

Perhaps husband and wife; and the name of the former may be a corruption for Maclean or Macellan.

31. John de Hauden; for lands in the shire of Stirling.
32. Henry Scot; — — Fife.
33. Richard de Herth *(sic)*; — Edin. & Fife.
34. Peter de Pontkyn *(sic)*;
35. Robert de Wodeford; — — Roxb.
36. Philip de Lindeseye;
37. John de Voys (Vaus)
38. Ham. (Hamelin) de Troup;
39. Nicholas de Denovan; — Forfar.
40. Gilbert de Thornton; — Kincardine.

Edward bestowed the lordship of Annandale, the patrimonial Scots estate of Robert, on the Earl of Hereford; and the earldom of Carrick, his maternal inheritance, on Henry de Percy. The earldom of Athole was gifted to Ralph de Monthermer, commonly styled Earl

of Gloucester and Hertford, as he had married Joan, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Hertford, and widow of the Earl of Gloucester, and bore these titles as a matter of courtesy, till his step-son became of age. On his seal he assumed these titles; but in public instruments he seems to have been always styled Ralph de Monthermer, without any addition. From this person, whose only distinction and consequence arose from having the temporary direction of the military vassals of his step-son, Edward soon afterwards repurchased this grant of the Earldom of Athole for 5000 marks *. A. D. 1306.

A singular memorandum occurs in the Fœdera Angliæ at this period. " To cause remember the lands of Gilbert de la Haye for Monsieur Hugh le Despenser †." This person was probably the father of the Hugh le Despenser, who was afterwards to make a conspicuous figure as the unworthy favourite of Edward II. Succeeding to that bad eminence, with equal vices and subsequent similar misfortune, on the destruction of Gavesston, the early minion of that infatuated prince.

* Foed. Angl. III. 7.

† Id. II. 1014.

A. D. 1306. Thus severely did Edward punish the Scots nobles, and others who had fallen into his power, for the breach of engagements which they had been constrained to enter into. It may, however, be observed, that he had procured a papal bull in the immediately preceding year, by which he was absolved from the oaths which he had repeatedly sworn for maintaining the liberties and privileges of his English subjects. In this bull he is particularly absolved from the penalties annexed to the solemn oaths and excommunications respecting the observations of the provisions of Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests, the only then existing defences of English liberty against arbitrary power. Having violated their extorted oaths without papal sanction, the Scots were doomed to condign punishment as perjured men; while he was free to trample upon every compact which he had entered into with his subjects. It is an obvious and melancholy truth, that the very means which ought to have purified the morals of mankind, were perverted by those who ought to have preserved and enforced them. The ordinary notions of right and wrong which are implanted in our natures, and those ties of pure morality and religion by which

man ought to be bound to the performance of his duties to God and to his fellow-creatures, were in a great measure obliterated by the distribution of indulgences, pardons, and absolutions. Intoxicated or stupified by the frequency of these pretensions to omnipotent authority in the corrupt rulers of the church, the consciences of her blind votaries ceased to be faithful guides of their conduct, amid the turbulent rancour of national animosities, and the powerful temptations of interest and ambition. A. D. 1306.

During the long residence of Edward at Carlisle, occasioned by his illness, which totally incapacitated him from taking the field, he convened the English Parliament at that place. Before this parliament broke up, Bruce and all who adhered to him were solemnly excommunicated as perjured traitors and enemies of the kings peace. This ceremony was conducted by Peter d'Espaigne, cardinal legate from the Pope, attended by the King of England in person, and all the bishops, lords, and barons, in their robes, with lighted candles and the ringing of bells in the most solemn and impressive manner*. They were 1307. 20 Feb.

* Hemingf. I. 226.

A. D. 1307. 20 Feb. all excommunicated by bell, book, and candle. By this formal denunciation, Edward imagined that he secured the exemplary and irremediable punishment of his Scots rebels, and ensured the restoration and continuance of obedience to his authority in Scotland. But, as formerly observed, the patriot opposition of the Scots clergy to the scandalously partial authority of the sovereign pontiff, rendered the papal interposition completely abortive.

Every circumstance connected with the reign of Robert I. possesses considerable interest. The following notices, therefore, respecting the remains of Kildrummy castle, the scene of so much misery to many of the Scots patriots, seem worthy of insertion.

"The ruins of Kildrummy castle still remain among the mountains of Curgarff, in the district or lordship of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, on the northern bank of the river Don, about

forty miles from the sea. It stands upon an eminence, one side of which is washed by the Don, while two other sides are defended by two deep ravines. According to tradition, it originally consisted of one great circular tower or donjon, having five floors or stories. This still forms the western corner of the ruinous fabric, and is distinguished by the name of the *Snow* Tower. The fortress had been afterwards enlarged into an irregular pentagon, surrounding a spacious court, and defended by six other towers of unequal magnitude and dissimilar in form. Four of these protected the four new angles of the pentagon; while two others were placed in the western face or curtain, for the peculiar security of the gate of entrance, or barbican, which occupied the space between them. The intervening buildings, or curtains connecting the several towers, seem only to have been two stories high, and the walls are only four feet thick, composed of small irregular stones run together by fluid lime mortar; but the whole outside is cased by regular courses of dressed freestone.

" The western wall, in which was the barbican or entrance-gate, was reared on the summit of a regular slope of no great accli-

vity, which rises from the river Don, and seems to have been the garden of the castle. The northern side is protected by the steep banks of a brook which flows into the Don. The south and east sides have been secured by artificial ditches.

"The whole area of the castle occupies nearly three Scots acres, or about three and three quarters English. Besides the scite of a pit-well, a subterranean passage or vault may still be traced within the ruins of the fortress, of sufficient height to admit horses. This passage opens to the bank on the northern side of the castle, and must have served as a sally-port. By means of this passage, the wife and daughter of Bruce, with their escort and attendants, are reported to have made their escape when they fled to the sanctuary of Tain in Ross-shire.

"In the middle of the eastern wall the remains of the chapel may be still distinguished, by the peculiar form of its altar window, consisting of three very long and narrow slits. Tradition reports, that this chapel was occupied during the siege of the castle as a magazine of forage for the horses belonging to the garrison; and that the besiegers despaired of success, until, by throwing a piece

of red-hot iron through the chapel window, they set the forage on fire, and won the castle by surprize, during the distraction occasioned by this unexpected conflagration *." In the relation of the siege of this fortress as already given from Barbour, the incident of setting the magazine on fire is attributed to the treachery of one of the garrison.

* Stat. Ac. of Sc. XVIII. 417.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Return of Robert I. to Scotland from the Isle of Rachrin, in Spring 1307; *to the Demise of Edward I. in July of the same year.*

A. D. 1307. WHILE his family and friends in Scotland were consigned to execution and imprisonment as traitors and rebels, Robert remained the whole winter in the island of Rachrin, ignorant of their unhappy fate, and his own situation apparently unknown both to his friends and enemies. By one of our historians, he is said to have been proclaimed, at this period, through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed, as if in derision of his hopeless condition *.

Towards the approach of spring, Sir James Douglas, impatient of inactivity, obtained permission from the king to make an attempt

* Ford. XII. xi.

upon the castle of Brathwick in the island of Arran, then occupied for the English, with a respectable garrison of knights, squires, and yeomen, by Sir John Hastings*. Having Sir Robert Boyd along with him, who was well acquainted with the island, Douglas passed over with a small band of followers in one galley or open boat, first to Cantire, and thence to Arran. Arriving there in the night, the Scots party secured their boat in a sequestered creek, and placed themselves in ambush near the castle, whence they had learnt that the governor used often to go out on hunting parties with his people. Early next morning, the under warden of the castle was observed by the Scots to have arrived at the island, with three boats loaded with provisions, arms, and clothing for the garrison; and he was seen proceeding towards the castle, with a number of men carrying the articles which he had imported. Douglas immediately attacked this party at unawares from his ambuscade, slew about forty of them, and seized their burthens. The garrison issued forth but too late to rescue their friends; and, being

A. D. 1307.

* Barb. IV. 340.

A. D. 1307. repulsed by the Scots, were forced to retreat into the castle. Finding the castle too strongly fortified to be assailed with any hope of success, Douglas drew off his people with the spoil which they had acquired, and quartered with them in a woody glen or dell of the island, where they remained in safety till they were joined by the king and the rest of his small band of faithful followers *.

About ten days after the attempt of Douglas on Brathwick castle, the king and the remainder of his people arrived from Rachrin at the island of Arran in thirty-three small galleys †; most probably open boats or corracles constructed of wicker work and covered with raw hides. We have no information of the exact date of this new attempt of Robert to recover the kingdom of Scotland: Barbour only says, that it was when winter was nearly over, or in the beginning of spring. Having safely landed in Arran, Robert was conducted by a woman of the island to the retreat where Douglas lay. In a council of his few remaining confidential friends, it was resolved by the king to send a trusty person, named Cuthbert, secretly into Carrick, to

* Barb. IV. 364—459 † Id. IV. 463.

learn how his vassals in that country stood affected, and what assistance might be expected from them in the event of an attempt to rescue that district from the dominion of the English *. Having received proper instructions, the messenger was enjoined to sound the dispositions of the people; and, if matters bore a favourable aspect, to make a signal on an appointed day, by lighting a fire upon an eminence near the castle of Turnberry, named Turnberys *Inuke*, or Turnberry corner †. A. D. 1307.

According to Fordun, Robert had received aid at this period from a powerful and noble lady, Christiana of the isles, by means of which he was enabled to leave his retreat in Rachrin, and to return into Carrick ‡. Whether this lady was the wife of Angus lord of Cantire and the Isles, from whom Robert had received most seasonable hospitality on his way to Rachrin, does not certainly appear. We shall soon find him receiving assistance from another lady; and his cause seems to have been much favoured by the fair sex,

* Barb. IV. 470—585. † Id. IV. 556.

‡ Ford. XII. xii.

A. D. 1307. who in their political attachments are often guided by sentiment, while men are more apt to calculate the difficulties and dangers which may arise from an open declaration of their principles.

The messenger, who had been dispatched into Carrick, found the English in full possession of the country; while Sir Henry Percy, or his deputy, to whom that district had been granted by Edward, occupied Turnberry castle with a numerous garrison, said to have consisted of near three hundred men. On cautiously inquiring into the dispositions of the people, Cuthbert found them so utterly dispirited and reduced to hopeless thraldom, that he dared not make himself known to any one, but resolved to return to the king without making the appointed signal *.

On the day which had been concerted for the signal, Robert anxiously watched for its appearance from the dawn of morning. At length, when noon had already passed, he imagined that he perceived a fire on the appointed place. Conceiving this to be the concerted signal of good tidings from his secret emissary, he hastened to embark his men,

* Barbour, IV. 584—603.

whom Barbour alleges to have amounted to about three hundred at this time *. Just before embarking from Arran, while the king was walking on the beach waiting for his people getting every thing in readiness, the woman at whose house he had lodged in that island, requested a private conference; and, pretending to a foreknowledge of future events, predicted confidently that he should soon be King of Scotland, which he should reduce totally under his authority after overcoming all his enemies; but that he must expect to encounter many difficulties and dangers in the course of the war. As a proof of her assurance in the truth of her own predictions, she sent her two sons along with him, to be rewarded when he had acquired the kingdom †. Whether this incident may have been concerted by Robert to strengthen the hopes of his adherents, or was a voluntary assumption of pretended prescience, is a matter of small importance. Either way, it may have been useful in that rude age; and the pretension to the second sight among the highlanders, and their belief in this imagina- A. D. 1307.

* Barb. V. 16. † Id. IV. 632—774.

A. D. 1307. ry species of prophecy, have descended to the present times.

The Scots used every exertion to cross over from Arran to the coast of Carrick; but were fortunately detained in their passage by cross winds or contrary currents, till night closed upon them while still at sea and unperceived by their enemies. Guiding their voyage by the fire, which still blazed on Turnberry-neuk, they at length reached the shore. Here they encountered the messenger, who reported that there was no hope of receiving assistance from the people of Carrick. "Traitor," exclaimed the king, "why then did you make the signal?"—"I made no signal," replied Cuthbert, "but, observing a fire upon the appointed eminence, I feared it might deceive you, and hastened hither to warn you of the danger *."

Hesitating amid the dangers and difficulties that environed him on every side, Robert was infinitely at a loss to decide upon what conduct he should now adopt; ignorant of what dangers he ought to avoid, and equally uncertain what were most proper to be encountered, he knew not whether to advance or recede. At length giving way to the dic-

* Barb. V. 41—60.

tates of valour, he determined to persevere in his enterprize, and to encounter all hazards. This bold and seemingly desperate resolution is said to have been prompted by his brother Edward, who addressed him in the following manner: A. D. 1307.

> "———— I say yow sekyrly *,
> Thar sall na perill, that may be,
> Dryve me eftsonys † to the se:
> Myne aventur her tak will I
> Quhethir ‡ it be esfull § or angry."—‖

Having learned from Cuthbert that nearly two-thirds of the English troops belonging to Percy were carelessly cantoned in the town of Turnberry, at some little distance from the castle, Bruce attacked them at unawares the same night on which he landed in Carrick, and put many of them to the sword. Barbour says that the whole party that lodged in the town, near two hundred men, were killed, except one man, named Mackdowall, who made his escape to the castle. Percy

* Determinedly. † Henceforwards. ‡ Whether.
§ Prosperous or adverse.
‖ Barb. V. 66—70.

A. D. 1307. and his garrison heard the uproar and coufusion of this night attack, but dared not to issue forth against an unknown enemy. Robert remained three days in the environs of the castle to refresh his men and to divide the spoil among them, and then withdrew into the mountainous parts of Carrick *.

While in the neighbourhood of Turnberry, after this successful exploit, Robert is said to have been joined by a lady, one of his relations, who gave him the first intelligence of the melancholy fate which had overwhelmed the friends whom he had sent to take refuge in Kildrummy towards the close of the former year. It is easier to conceive than to find words to describe the grief and indignation which must have filled the mind of Bruce, upon receiving this disastrous and heart-rending intelligence. In common minds, the outrage which had been committed by Edward against his relations and adherents, would very naturally have produced a determined resolution of severe retaliation and revenge; yet such was the noble character of the illustrious Bruce, that during his whole career, although he gave free scope to all the

* Barbour, V. 89—120.

then usual and barbarous modes of predatory and destructive warfare, he never once permitted his feelings to put a single prisoner of war to death; although he certainly had a better right to have adjudged Scotsmen taken in arms on the English side as rebels against their king and country, than Edward, who was a manifest usurper in all his pretended rights over the dominions and inhabitants of Scotland. After supplying him with such money and necessaries as she had been able to collect, the friendly lady left him a reinforcement of forty men, and withdrew to her own abode*.

A. D. 1307.

In the mean time a powerful English detachment, said to have consisted of above a thousand men, approached from Air to the relief of Turnberry under the command of Sir Roger St John; and Robert was under the necessity to retire for shelter into the mountains and fastnesses of Carrick, being unable to prevail upon the people of the country to repair to his standard in any sufficient number to oppose the force under St John†. About this time, he expected to have been joined by a reinforcement under his brothers

* Barb. V. 133—174.

† Id. V. 181—184. M. Westm. 456. Hemingf. I. 225.

A. D. 1307. Thomas and Alexander, who had been dispatched into Ireland and the adjacent isles in quest of assistance. They are said to have succeeded so far as to collect about seven hundred men, with whom they endeavoured to land at Lochrian in Galloway, intending to proceed from thence by land into Carrick to join their royal brother. But if it be true, as is reported by all the ancient historians who mention this incident, that this Irish reinforcement was contained in one ship or vessel, it is next to an impossibility that any thing like the half of seven hundred men could have been stowed in any vessel which could then be procured on the coasts of Scotland or Ireland. Seven scores, or an hundred and forty men, is a more likely number. Duncan Macdowal, a powerful chieftain of Galloway, in the English interest, hearing of their arrival, hastily collected a considerable body of men, attacked them at their landing, and totally routed their small army *. According to an ancient English historian, the forces which Macdowall had to encounter the seven hundred invaders from Ireland, who had all been transported in one vessel, did not exceed three

9 Feb.

* A. of S. II. 22.

hundred men. With these he attacked the Irish in the act of disembarking, gave them a total overthrow and killed almost the whole, part in fight, some while landing, and others in flight, or attempting to re-embark; but most of them were drowned. He carried the heads of the principal persons who were slain, Malcolm M'Kail lord of Kentir, and of two other Irish regali or chieftains to King Edward at Carlisle; together with Sir Thomas and Sir Alexander Bruce, the brothers of the King of Scots, and Sir Reginald or Rannald de Crawford, who were all grievously wounded and made prisoners, and who were all ordered by the King of England to instant execution: And, lest any doubt might remain of Edwards severity, it is added that their heads affixed upon the gates of the castle and town of Carlisle bore witness to the truth of this relation *.

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb.

Another English historian gives a somewhat different account of the catastrophe at Lochrian; saying, that Makedowal, a sergeant of Galweie, surprized the invaders on Ash-Wednesday, as they were returning from divine worship. He observes of Alexander

* M. Westm. 458.

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb.

Bruce, that he had been educated at Cambridge, where he made extraordinary proficiency in literature, and that he was dean of Glasgow *. In relating the execution of Sir Rannald Crawford, Barbour says, that Sir Brice Blair suffered at the same time; but erroneously alleges this to have happened at Air †. This Sir Rannald Crawford may have been a near relation of the renowned Wallace; perhaps the son of his uncle, who is said to have borne the same name and sirname.

At the present period, the situation of Robert certainly was exceedingly desperate, and to all appearance entirely hopeless: There scarcely remained even a chance that he might escape from his enemies, who environed him on all sides with infinitely superior force, which he possessed no resources for withstanding or escaping from; and, if made prisoner, he would certainly have incurred the same relentless punishment which had been already inflicted upon three of his valiant brothers and many of his brave adherents. He now wandered among his native mountains, an outlawed and excommunicated fugitive, unable to rouse the vassals of his family

* Langtoft. II. 336, 337. † Barbour, IV. 36—38.

to unite for his protection; and had to trust for precarious safety to his superior knowledge of the woods and morasses, which were every where interspersed through the wild district of Carrick. The minute narrative of the many imminent perils and narrow escapes which Robert underwent at this time, as given by Barbour, has been considered as romantic and bordering on the marvellous, while some parts even are supposed to have a fabulous appearance *. But, as the English contemporary historians have vouched for the general truth of Barbours narration, which they probably never heard of, declaring that the partizans of Bruce were for some time entirely dispersed, while he wandered alone among woods, morasses, and mountains, destitute of aid, and beset on every side with enemies †; it seems proper and incumbent to give the substance of Barbours account of his situation and adventures at this time.

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb.

Having permitted Sir James Douglas to separate from him in Carrick, for the purpose of endeavouring to collect succours from his patrimonial estate in Douglasdale ‡, and while

* A. of S. II. 24. † Id. II. 23.

‡ Barb. V. 225.

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb. his brother Edward Bruce was absent on the same errand in Galloway *, Robert remained in Carrick with scarcely two hundred men, roaming from place to place, endeavouring to encrease the number of his adherents by reviving the spirit of his own peculiar vassals, and using every precaution to guard against being surprized by his vindictive foes. At this time, Pembroke the English guardian of Scotland, who then seems to have resided at Edinburgh, hearing of the landing of Robert in Carrick and of his transactions there, dispatched Sir Ingram Umphraville, erroneously named Bell in some M.S. copies of Barbour, to Air, with a considerable force to oppose him †.

On his arrival at Air, Umphraville received intelligence of an inhabitant of Carrick who used secretly, with two of his sons, to visit Bruce, and who appears to have been somehow related to or connected with him. This person was employed to carry intelligence to Robert of the situation and motions of the English parties in that country, and was instructed carefully to conceal this intercourse from observation. Umphraville tampered with

* Barbour, V. 467.

† Id. V. 472—484.

this person to slay Bruce; and, by the promise of an ample reward, prevailed upon him to undertake the infamous office of an assassin. Knowing that Robert used to retire early in the morning to some private place for secret meditation, this apostate and his two sons, all well armed, hid themselves near his usual place of retirement. Robert came accordingly to his accustomed place of meditation, attended only by a page who carried his bow and arrows; and the three men, who had been watching for this opportunity, advanced to assail him: But, having received intimation of the intended treachery, he took the bow and arrows from his attendant and slew them all. On receiving intelligence of the merited fate of the traitors whom he had employed, Umphraville returned to Edinburgh and reported to Pembroke the unsuccessful issue of his scandalous endeavour to procure the assassination of Bruce*. Barbour asserts that Robert had received warning of the treacherous intentions of these men: and that, although he knew not the source of his intelligence on the present occasion, yet he had heard that he frequently re-

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb.

* Barbour, V. 472—656.

A. D. 1307. 9 Feb. ceived intimation of the designs of his enemies, from women with whom he had amorous intercourse *.

Robert continued to wander among the fastnesses of Carrick, where he was often so much in want of provisions as not to be able to keep above sixty men with him at a time, having frequently to detach far the greatest portion of his small band in quest of supplies. These circumstances having come to the knowledge of the leading people of Galloway, perhaps the Duncan M'Dowal among others who had recently discomfited the brothers of Bruce in that country, they collected a body of more than two hundred men to attack him by surprize, and provided bloodhounds to follow his trace through the forests and morasses. The Galloway men advanced towards the position occupied by Bruce under night, hoping to come upon him by surprize: But, receiving timely notice of their approach from his centinels, and being aware of their superiority in point of numbers, he withdrew his small band into the shelter of a morass, across a rivulet which had only one narrow ford. Having thus placed his men in a se-

* Barb. V. 537—543.

cure post, he left them under the command of Sir Gilbert de la Hay; and, taking only two men along with him, he returned to the ford of the brook, intending to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy. After listening for some time, he heard the cry of a hound followed by some people urging him on; and, being unaware of the intentions of the Gallovidians, he remained at the ford till it was too late to retreat with any probability of safety. Determining, therefore, to endeavour to defend himself at the ford, where only one person could advance at a time, he dispatched his two attendants to give the alarm to Hay; and, placing himself at the narrow pass, resolutely determined to await the event. On the first assault of the enemy, he slew five of the assailants, whose dead bodies became a kind of rampart of defence against the rest. Dismayed by the fate of their companions, the assailants drew back for a little; but ashamed that so many should be held at bay by one man, they returned to the attack, animating each other to press on. Robert still valiantly defended the pass; and as one man only could come forwards at a time, he slew the assailants one by one as they came with-

A. D. 1307.

A. D. 1307. in his reach. At length the party under de la Hay came up to his rescue, and the Gallovidians retired, after having lost fourteen men by the single prowess of Bruce; who did not think it adviseable to pursue the enemy during the darkness of the night, being ignorant of their strength. Those of his adherents who had been dispersed over Carrick, hearing of what had occurred on this occasion, now hastened to rejoin his standard in case of any farther attack *.

This story may well be considered as among the romantic incidents of Barbours narrative already noticed. Yet it certainly is not altogether improbable, that one brave and completely armed man might contend successfully for some time, and in a narrow pass, against a considerable number of men who were destitute of defensive armour. Such, we are well assured, the Gallovidians were, at a period not much anterior to that now under consideration; and they may have continued the same custom, as we are certain the native Irish did, down to the time of Bruce. We know, likewise, that it was no uncommon thing, at the very period of which we now treat, and after-

* Barb. VI. 32—378.

wards, for a completely armed knight on foot to press into a throng of enemies, brandishing a two-handed sword, or a ponderous battle-axe, securely dealing destruction around him, till tired of his laborious exertions, or encountered by a champion in equal arms. The wondrous deeds of chivalric prowess, as related to us in romance, from the Iliad downwards, had all some foundation at least in real warfare. A. D. 1307.

It would appear that, about the present period, Sir James Douglas, taking only two yeomen in his company, repaired secretly into his patrimonial domains in Douglasdale *. He there revealed himself to one Thomas Dickson, a person of considerable wealth and influence, who had been a trusty vassal of his father Sir William, and had shewed much kindness to himself in his early youth. Dickson now received him with great attention, and kept him some time privately in his house. By his agency, all the leading and faithful adherents of the family were brought secretly to Douglas, to whom they pledged their fidelity, and entered into solemn engage-

* Barbour, V. 225—257.

A. D. 1307. ments to assist him to the utmost of their power in the recovery of his inheritance out of the hands of the English. Having thus secured the concurrence of a small select band of faithful followers, Douglas concerted a plan for surprizing the English garrison which then occupied Douglas castle. The execution of this enterprize was fixed for the ensuing Palm Sunday, when the garrison was expected to attend divine service in the neighbouring church of St Bride; and Douglas directed his adherents to come to church on that day, provided with arms concealed under their ordinary garments.

19 Mar. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the unarmed and unsuspecting garrison, consisting of thirty men, leaving only the cook and porter at the castle, went in solemn procession to church; and, at a concerted signal, were set upon by Douglas and his people, who killed or made prisoners of the whole party: He then detached a small number of his people to secure possession of the gate of Douglas castle, and followed with the rest of his men. They found a plentiful entertainment prepared for the solemnity of the day; after partaking of which, they stripped the castle of money, clothes, and every thing else of

value which could be carried off: Then shutting up ten of their prisoners, whom they had previously put to death, in the magazine or store-room of the castle, they set it on fire. This transaction, in the barbarous pleasantry of the age, was long remembered in tradition under the name of Douglases larder*. Savage cruelty during war, or in any of the transactions of mankind, can never be defended: but at this period, long and severe reciprocal injuries had irritated the passions on both sides into deadly hatred; and the Scots might justly plead, in extenuation of their cruel treatment of the English prisoners, that they only acted in retaliation of the severities which had been exercised upon the prisoners which were taken in this war by the English. A. D. 1307. 19 Mar.

After this successful exploit, having first destroyed the defences of the castle as much as possible, and rendered the well unserviceable by throwing in salt and the carcases of dead horses, Douglas ordered his people to disperse themselves over the country, giving strict charges that such of his men as had been wounded in the affray with the garrison

* Barb. V. 257—410.

A. D. 1307. 19 Mar. should be hidden in secure places, and properly taken care of till their wounds were healed; and as the English were numerous and powerful in that part of Scotland, he continued for some time to lurk about in various hiding-places, till his wounded men might be sufficiently recovered to accompany him into Carrick *.

On learning the miserable fate of the garrison which he had left in charge of Douglas castle, Clifford repaired thither with a sufficient force; and, having restored its defences and necessary accommodations, he left a new garrison with a plentiful store of provisions, under the command of one Thirlwall, and returned himself into England †.

After the departure of Clifford, Douglas gathered a tolerably strong force of his vassals, with whom he formed an ambush at a place called Sandilands by Barbour, which appears to have been at no great distance from Douglas castle. From that place, he detached a few of his men early of a morning, who drove off some cattle from the immediate vicinity of the castle towards the place where the ambushment was established. Thirlwall,

* Barbour, V. 411—442. † Id. V. 447—462.

indignant that spoil should be thus made so immediately under his observation, hastily armed a large portion of his garrison, and pursued the spoilers; while in his haste, he seems to have forgotten to put on his own helmet. Not suspecting the train which had been laid for them, the English followed with all speed, but in great disorder; and the Scots, when their enemies were arrived near the ambush, suddenly burst forth upon them with a loud shout, and got between them and the road to Douglas castle. Thus taken at unawares, the English were speedily and easily discomfited. Thirlwall and a considerable proportion of his people were slain, and the rest fled in disorder to regain the castle. Douglas and his men pursued the fugitives to the very gates with great slaughter, and were in hopes of being able to gain possession of the castle a second time. But the small remnant which had been left by Thirlwall, and a few of the foremost of the runaways, hastily barred the gates and manned the walls. Douglas then marched with such strength as he had been able to collect among his vassals, and joined the king, then lying at Cumnock in Airshire *.

A D. 1307.

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* Barbour, VI. 379—463.

A. D. 1307. During these transactions in Douglasdale, and after learning the unsuccessful issue of the attempts of Umphraville and the Gallovidians against Bruce, who still lurked in the fastnesses of Carrick waging desultory hostilities against the English and their adherents, Pembroke the guardian marched personally into that country, with a considerable body of English forces, and of Scots in the English interest. Among the latter, John of Lorn, the son and heir of Alexander lord of Argyle and Lorn, led a body of eight hundred hardy highlanders, admirably calculated, from the similarity of their native rugged mountains, to search for and pursue Robert among the moors, mountains, and morasses of Carrick. Lorn is reported to have had along with him a remarkably staunch and sagacious bloodhound, which had once belonged to Bruce, and which was so much attached to him, and so thoroughly acquainted with his scent, that if once he got upon his track he would never part from it for any other.

Pembroke marched with his troops towards Cumnock in Airshire, near the head of the Nith, where Bruce then was; and Thomas Randolph, Roberts nephew, is said to have then served in the English army against his

uncle. Bruce warily kept among the heights and fastnesses of the country, with about four hundred men; while Pembroke remained always in the lower ground, keeping strict order and careful watch, lest Bruce should attack him at unawares on any relaxation of discipline. According to a concerted plan, Lorn kept his party carefully concealed among the hills, watching for an opportunity of gaining the rear of the patriots, which he at length effected. When informed of Lorns situation, Pembroke approached Roberts position on the one side, while Lorn pressed upon him on the other. Thus environed by two hostile bodies of troops, either of which was greatly superior to the small force he commanded, Robert, having appointed a place of rendezvous, divided his troops into three small bodies, giving them orders to retreat by separate routs, that, by distracting the attention of the enemy, they might be better able to escape from the difficult and dangerous predicament in which they were then involved.

A. D. 1307.

After the retreat of the Scots, John of Lorn came to the place whence Robert had escaped, where he set loose the blood-hound, which immediately fell upon the well known scent, and led the pursuers directly in the track

A. D. 1307. which the king had taken. Finding that the enemy following closely after him, Robert again subdivided his small remaining party, but without effect; for the hound still kept true to his foot. Robert then ordered the whole remainder of his followers to disperse, and every one to seek his own personal safety the best he could, still remembering the appointed rendezvous. With one only companion, who is said to have been his foster-brother, or the son of his nurse, Robert now continued his exertions to escape from his pursuers. But the hound still persisted in following his foot, until at length John of Lorn espied him at a distance; on which he dispatched five of his swiftest men, with orders to follow hard after Bruce, and either to slay him, or to delay his flight till assistance might come up from the rest of the party. These men overtook Robert and his single attendant; who faced about, and slew them all, and then held on their way.

By this time the pursuers were so near that Robert was able to perceive that they had been led on by means of a blood-hound. Soon afterwards, Robert and his foster-brother sought shelter and concealment in the covert of a thick wood, in a valley through which there

ran a brook or rivulet. Taking advantage of this circumstance, they travelled for some time in the stream, by which means, when the hound came up to the water he was completely at fault, and unable to proceed. On this, Lorn was reluctantly compelled to give up the chase, and returned to join Pembroke. According to other accounts of this escape of Robert from the pursuit of the blood-hound, his foster-brother, being an expert archer, hid himself in a thicket, from whence he shot the hound, and then made his escape undiscovered. It has been already mentioned, that Randolph was engaged at this time under Pembroke; and it is reported that he made himself master of the standard of his uncle during this pursuit, for which service he acquired the favour of the King of England*. A. D. 1307.

After escaping from the hot pursuit of Lorn and the blood-hound, while Robert and his trusty companion were travelling towards the appointed rendezvous, they encountered with three armed freebooters, one of whom carried the carcase of a sheep. These men pretended that they were in search of Bruce, whose party they intended to join. Robert offered to

* Barb. VI. 476—672. & VII. 1—104.

A. D. 1307 guide them to the king, and joined their company, but without discovering himself to them. Being all much fatigued, they stopt at a lone deserted house, where they made a fire, and dressed part of their provisions. After a hearty meal, and finding himself overcome with sleep, Robert desired his companion to watch while he slept, as he entertained suspicions of the three strangers. Both, however, fell fast asleep; and the three men, either allured by the hope of plunder, or suspecting who Bruce actually was, and expecting a great reward from the English, plotted to slay him. He fortunately awoke while they were advancing for this purpose with their swords drawn; and, instantly awaking his companion, a fierce conflict ensued, in which the robbers were all slain, but his faithful follower lost his life. From this place, Robert travelled alone to the rendezvous, where he was rejoined by all his own party, and by his brother Edward and Sir James Douglas, with a reinforcement of an hundred and fifty men *.

In the whole of this narrative of the narrow escapes of Bruce, though it may have a

* Barb. VII. 105—282.

romantic appearance, there is nothing impro- A. D. 1307.
bable or inconsistent with the nature of partizan warfare in a rugged country of mountains, woods, and morasses. And although every minute circumstance in the relations of Barbour, from recent tradition, may not be precisely accurate, yet the generally acknowledged truth of his performance fully warrants their insertion in this work.

After the junction of Edward Bruce and Douglas, considering that his enemies would probably be off their guard, under the impression that the Scots were still entirely dispersed, Robert resolved to march immediately with the intention of beating up the quarters of the English, of whose situation he had received accurate information from Douglas. He accordingly set out under cover of the night; and falling at day break upon a party of about two hundred of the English, who were cantoned in a small town a mile or two from the camp of the main army, he surprised them unarmed, put the greater part of them to the sword, and retreated again into the fastnesses of the mountains, before the army of Pembroke could be got ready to pursue*.

* Barb. VII. 297—348.

A. D. 1307. Thus disappointed in his views, and despairing of success against an enemy so active and vigilant by open force, Pembroke retired with his army towards Carlisle, leaving spies behind him in Carrick, to give him timely notice of Roberts motions, that he might return suddenly on any favourable opportunity of attacking the Scots at unawares*. Soon afterwards, Robert, having separated from his men while hunting, was suddenly assailed by three armed men, probably belonging to the troops of Lorn; but, assisted by his dogs, which brought two of the assailants to the ground, he slew them all †.

Upon another occasion, while Robert and his people were engaged in deer-hunting in Glentruel, Pembroke, who had received intelligence of his situation, set off with a considerable body of horse from Carlisle, and marching with great speed and secrecy, only during the night, arrived undiscovered in a wood in Glentruel, scarcely a mile from the fastness in which the Scots were harboured. Considering it to be impossible to act on horseback in the thicket where the Scots lay, Pembroke made his men dismount and march

* Barb. VII. 349—396. † Id. VII. 400—471.

on foot; and, sending a woman before as a spy, to bring him intelligence of the exact posture of the Scots, he advanced slowly in profound silence. The woman found the Scots unarmed and making merry, unsuspicious of danger. She pretended to seek charity; but, being suspected and seized, she confessed the purpose of her errand, and gave information of the intentions and approach of their enemies. The Scots armed themselves in all haste, and drew up as quickly as possible to the best advantage, to the number of about three hundred men, waiting the advance of the English assailants. Hardly were they formed in order, when Pembroke approached to attack them at the head of fifteen hundred men. Without waiting to be assailed, the Scots, with the king at their head, rushed furiously against their foes; who, surprised in their turn at this unexpected reception, were soon thrown into confusion, and driven from the wood with some loss. After this, the English leaders, disagreeing among themselves, and blaming each other for the miscarriage of this enterprize, obliged Pembroke to march back towards Carlisle*.

A. D. 1307.

* Barbour, VII. 494—635.

A. D. 1307. Encouraged by this success, and by the retreat of the English, Robert now ventured from his fastnesses into the plains of Airshire; and, gathering all his adherents together, reduced Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, the three districts into which that large county is divided, to his obedience; receiving the willing homage of some, and forcing others who were refractory to submit to his authority. In this progress, he turned out such as held any of the strengths of that country for the English, and appointed others in their stead in whom he could confide *.

At this time Pembroke appears to have resided in Bothwell; from whence he detached a thousand men into Kyle, under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, with orders to obstruct the progress of the Scots. Sir James Douglas having received intelligence that this detachment was to march by Makyrnock, placed himself in ambush, with about forty men, at a place called the Nether Ford, where the road lay between two deep morasses impassible by cavalry. While Mowbray and his men were engaged in the defile, and passing the ford, Douglas attacked them with such

* Barbour, VIII. 1—14.

impetuosity that the English were panic-struck, and immediately fled in disorder towards Bothwell, leaving about sixty of their men slain on the field. Mowbray was so far advanced in the pass as to be unable to return; wherefore, clapping spurs to his horse, he forced his way through the Scots, and escaped by Kilmarnock, Kilwinning, Ardrossan, and the Largs, to Innerkype, in which there was an English garrison *. A. D. 1307.

Irritated at the repeated losses and disappointments which he had sustained in the course of this desultory war, and much mortified at the reduction of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, Pembroke again advanced with a respectable force into Airshire, in the hope of retrieving the character of his administration, which had been disgraced by the late successes of the Scots †. According to the chivalric practice of the age, he sent a message to Robert, who then lay with his small army at Galston near Lowdon, daring him to the field, and declaring that he should march by Lowdon-hill upon the 10th of May. Robert accepted the challenge, returning for an-

* Barbour, 15—106. † A. of S. II. 23.

A. D. 1307. swer that he should certainly meet him at that place on the appointed day *. In fixing the date of this engagement, it has been deemed proper to follow the positive assertion of Barbour. The English historians say that it was fought after Easter; and as Easter day fell that year on the 26th March, it would seem that they supposed it to have been fought considerably before the 10th of May †.

May. Profiting from the recollection of the almost ultimately fatal discomfiture which he had formerly sustained at Methven, upon occasion of a similarly appointed battle, and taking advantage of the interval of time between the challenge and the day of battle, Robert proceeded to Lowdon-hill with his small army, now about six hundred strong, and took such judicious precautionary measures as might guard him from any unforeseen attack. For this purpose he threw up entrenchments calculated to place his small force, chiefly consisting of infantry, upon an equal footing with greatly superior numbers of the English cavalry. The road, at that part of Lowdon-hill which Robert selected for the reception of the English, led through

* Barbour, VIII. 123—150.

† Trivet. 346. M. Westm. 458.

a piece of dry level ground, bounded on both sides by extensive deep morasses, about a bow-shot distance from either side of the road. The distance, therefore, between the two morasses may have been nearly five hundred yards, such being the double range of the old long-bow, as still practised by English archers. Considering this place as greatly too wide for his small party, as it might be easily outflanked and turned by the numerous cavalry of Pembroke, he drew three deep trenches on either hand, from the morasses towards the road, at about a bow-shot, or between two and three hundred yards behind each other; leaving only such an open space as might conveniently admit five hundred men to draw up in order of battle. By this disposition, he secured his flanks and rear from attack: And he ordered three sets of these trenches, that he might have two successive rallying places in case of need *. A. D. 1307. May.

"Swa how and hey † the dykys ‡ war,
That men mycht not, bot mekill payn §,
Pass thaim, thouch nane war thaim agayn."—||

* Barbour, VIII. 161—194.

† Deep and high. ‡ Dyk, here signifies both ditch and rampart.

§ Without great difficulty.

|| Barb. VIII. 176—178.

A. D. 1307. 9 May. The night before the day appointed for the engagement, Robert lay with his small force at Little Lowdon, at a convenient distance from the entrenched field which he had prepared for the protection of his troops; which are said to have consisted of six hundred fighting men, besides about an equal number
10 May. of unarmed followers. On the morning of the day appointed by Pembroke, Robert drew up his gallant band in the gap of the foremost trenches; leaving his baggage on a hill in his rear, probably at Little Lowdon, under the charge of the rabble or followers of the army. Though not expressly mentioned by Barbour, it is probable that the Scots body which occupied the gap or interval between the trenches, consisted entirely of spearmen, drawn up in a solid phalanx or deep battalion; and, if arrayed in eight ranks, which long afterwards continued to be the order of such troops, six hundred men would present a front of seventy-five files, covering a space of about fifty yards, allowing two feet for each man. It is likewise extremely probable that the trenches on each flank were lined by the bravest and best armed of the camp followers, to prevent these from being taken

possession of by the enemy during the approaching combat; and we may suppose that many of these followers were provided with bows and arrows, and slings, with which to annoy the flanks of the English. A. D. 1307. 10 May.

True to his appointment, Pembroke advanced towards the Scots with great confidence of success at the head of near three thousand men, who seem to have been all cavalry. Having arranged his army in two lines or divisions, he ordered the van division to begin the attack at full gallop, having their lances couched. This desperate charge was received by the Scots with such determined firmness, that, after a severe conflict, the English van was driven back in disorder upon their second or rear division; which, disheartened and panic-struck by the failure and derout of the van, fell into confusion, and fled precipitately towards Bothwell. The Scots, following up the advantage, pressed forwards on the confused and retiring van, giving them no time to rally their disordered ranks, and the whole army of the English dispersed and fled. A considerable number of the English was slain in the battle and pursuit, and a good many taken prisoners; while the loss on the

A. D. 1307. 10 May. part of the Scots appears to have been extremely small *.

According to the English historians, the attack in this battle was made by Bruce †; while we have chosen to follow the minute and extremely probable account of Barbour. At all events, according to the historians of both nations, it is certain that the Scots ob-
13 May. tained a complete victory. Three days after the battle of Lowdon-hill, Bruce encountered Ralph de Monthermer, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and obliged to take refuge in the castle of Air. He was blockaded in this place for some time; but, on the approach of succours from England, the Scots were obliged to retire ‡. It is alleged that Pembroke took his defeat at Lowdon-hill so much to heart, that he soon afterwards retired to England and resigned his office of guardian §. But this is a manifest error, as we shall find him exercising that employment at a period considerably subsequent.

The fruits of these victories which Robert had gained over Pembroke and Monthermer,

* Barb. VIII. 195—354.

† Trivet. 346. M. Westm. 458.

‡ A. of S. II. 23.

§ Barb. VIII. 359—370.

proved of infinite advantage to the Scots interests. Emboldened by his success, and filled with admiration of his bravery and conduct, the Scots now flocked to the standard of their gallant sovereign, to whom they willingly and joyfully pledged their allegiance; and thenceforwards his power and reputation daily increased *. Among those who now, or soon afterwards joined him, were Sir Alexander Frazer and his brother Simon †. It must, however, be noticed that Simon Frazer of Olivar castle, one of the earliest adherents of Bruce, had been executed at London in the preceding winter. The Simon, therefore, who now joined Bruce, must have been a different person, or Barbour was mistaken in the name. Perhaps the Alexander and Simon now mentioned may have been sons of him who expiated his patriotism on the scaffold. It may be observed, that the impassioned severity of Edward against the Scots, combining the sword of civil tyranny with the horrors of war in support of his usurpation, and employing the spiritual artillery of the Roman pontif in aid of his own temporal exertions, in- A. D. 1307.

* Barb. VIII. 391. † Id. VIII. 395. and IX. 9.

A. D. 1307. stead of bending the independent spirits of the Scots nation, and inducing them to submit to the supreme authority of England, helped largely to increase the adherents of Bruce, by exciting utter detestation among the people of Scotland against the oppressive rule of England.

According to the English historians, it was at this period, after his late brilliant successes, that the adherents of Bruce were entirely dispersed, while he was constrained to wander among woods and marshes, destitute of all aid, and environed on every side by his enemies. Hemingford ridiculously asserts that Bruce now lurked among woods and morasses with ten thousand armed infantry; without considering the absolute impossibility of such a number being able to procure subsistence in the waste moors and mountains which form the frontiers of Galloway and Airshire*.

In this year, the English are said to have burnt down the monastery of Paisley: But no circumstances respecting this act of seemingly wanton destruction are mentioned by the historian who records the fact†. Perhaps this deed may be connected with a story

* Hemingf. II. 237. † Ford. XII. xiv.

which is only to be found in the same author. A. D. 1307.
Immediately after the slaughter of Cumyn, in the former year, and before he mounted the throne of Scotland, Robert is said to have sent messengers to the Pope, imploring absolution to himself and his accomplices for the sacrilegious transaction in which they had been engaged. The Pope is reported to have given verbal authority to Cardinal Berengerius, his grand penitentiary, to expedite a commission for that especial purpose to the Lord Abbot of Paisley; and Fordun gives a formal copy of this commission*. It is possible that this commission may have been a pious fraud, concerted between Robert and the Abbot, for quieting the weak consciences of the Scots; and that the English, having come to a knowledge of the deception, may have destroyed the abbey from revenge.

The tedious indisposition of Edward I. had long detained him at Carlisle, and had retarded his preparations for reducing the revolted Scots to entire subjection. Exasperated at the defeats of Pembroke and Monthermer, he issued orders for all the forces of England to assemble at Carlisle three weeks after mid- July.

* Ford. XII. x.

A. D. 1307. July. summer. Before that time, the violence of hs disorder, which seems to have been a dysentery, had reduced him so low that he was long confined to his chamber. Being considerably relieved, he flattered himself that the violence of his malady was abated, and that he should be able to advance in person at the head of a great and irresistible army, to take ample vengeance on Bruce and all his adherents, and to reduce Scotland under entire subjection. Impatient to dispel certain reports of his death which had been circulated, and to chastise his enemies, he offered up his horse litter in the cathedral of Carlisle as an unavailing evidence of his recovery; and mounted on horseback, intending to proceed to Solway on his way towards Scotland; but so greatly was he reduced by the long continuance of his disorder, that, in four days, he was only able to advance about six miles. On the 6th of July he reached Burgh-on-
7 July. Sand; and, on the next day, while his attendants were raising him up to receive some food, he expired in his tent, within sight of that country which he had devoted to destruction, for daring to resist his manifest usurpation *.

* Trivet, 347. Langtoft, II. 339.

Thus died Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; twenty-one years of which had been anxiously occupied in continued intrigues, and about sixteen in almost incessant warfare, for the purpose of unjustly endeavouring to annex the independent kingdom of Scotland to his hereditary dominions of England and Ireland. When mentioning the death of Edward I. Barbour erroneously considers it as having taken place soon after the capture of Kildrummy castle, during the winter 1306-7, and while Bruce remained in the isle of Rachrin. In describing his last illness he uses the following expressions: A. D. 1307. 7 July.

> "———— "He no moucht
> His aynd * bot with gret paynys draw;
> Na † spek bot giff it war weill law ‡."—§

He could not breathe but with great difficulty, and was only able to speak in a very low voice. What was the precise nature of his disease does not appear. It has been already named the dysentery; and from the

* Breath. † Nor. ‡ Except very low.

§ Barb. IV. 198—200.

A. D. 1307. 7 July.

symptoms mentioned by Barbour, that disorder seems to have been complicated with a dropsy of the chest, or dyspnea.

By his will, he directed that his heart should be conveyed to the Holy Land, and he settled a stipend for an hundred knights to perform military service in that country for one year, in honour of the cross, and in defence of the holy sepulchre *. On his death-bed, he gave strict injunctions to his son, that his dead body should accompany the English army on its march into Scotland, and should remain unburied until that country were reduced under complete subjection. Froissart says, that he made his son swear by all the saints, to cause boil the body in a cauldron until the flesh separated from the bones; that the flesh should then be deposited in the earth, and the bones preserved unburied; and that, so often as the Scots rebelled against the English government, the army should be assembled, and the bones carried along with it into Scotland. For he was firmly convinced, that the Scots would never be able to obtain a victory over the English, so long as his bones accompa-

* Trivet, 347.

nied the army *. The dying injunctions of kings are seldom regarded by their successors; and Edward II. who now succeeded to the crown of England, immediately transmitted the body of his deceased father to be reposited in the royal sepulchre at Westminster †. A. D. 1307. 7 July.

* Froiss. I. xxvii. † Tyrrell, III. 179.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Demise of Edward I. 7th July 1307; *to the Establishment of the first Truce between Robert I. and Edward II. in March* 1309.

A. D. 1307. July.

At his accession to the throne of England, Edward II. possessed many and great advantages, which might have secured him the promise of a glorious and fortunate reign. He was then in his twenty-third year, was at peace with France, and had just succeeded to the throne of a rich, populous, and warlike nation, long accustomed to obedience. A mighty and well appointed army, inured to discipline, flushed with long accustomed success, commanded by a high-spirited nobility experienced in war under his father, actuated by great animosity against the Scots, and anxious to acquire honour and riches by the entire conquest of Scotland, was now ready to obey his orders. Had he possessed the

same energy of character with his father, and had he wisely employed the power and resources of England, Scotland must soon have sunk under his irresistible power. But, happily for Robert and his gallant subjects, far other pursuits of frivolous dissipation employed the attentions of the second Edward, and involved him, during the whole of his weak and inglorious reign, in unceasing contests with his own subjects. A. D. 1307. July.

Froissart, who wrote his chronicle of the affairs of his own time in the succeeding reign, makes the following singular reflection: That between every two able sovereigns who swayed the English sceptre, a weak intervening king was sure to lose the advantages which had been acquired by the wisdom of his predecessor *. It soon became apparent that Edward II. was utterly destitute of ability to convert the advantageous situation to which he had succeeded to a proper use, either for his own glory or the aggrandizement of his crown and kingdom. He possessed no talents for war, and no judgment for the regulation of government, or the conduct of political intrigue. The leading

* Froissart, I. xxviii.

A. D. 1307. July.

trait in his weak character, and the perpetual source of all the complicated disasters and disgraces of his reign, was an unbounded, blind, and entire devotion to his two successive and unworthy favourites, Gaveston and Le Despenser; whose insolence, avarice, and ambition, involved him in continual disputes with his high-spirited nobles, excited universal indignation against the administration of government, and brought disgrace and ruin on themselves and their indulgent master.

After the death of his father, Edward II. spent three weeks altogether unprofitably at Carlisle, waiting for the arrival of some part of the army which had not yet joined; although he already possessed sufficient strength for the easy, rapid, and entire reduction of Scotland. He employed this interval in receiving the homage of his barons and great military vassals, and in giving orders for his fathers funeral; both of which purposes might easily have been accomplished during his march against the Scots. He at length marched into Scotland, taking his rout for Dumfries, where he had summoned the Scots nobility to perform their homage*. About this

* Chron. Lanerc. ap. Tyrrel.

period, he appears likewise to have gone from Dumfries to Roxburgh, where he received the homages of many leading persons in the south-eastern counties of Scotland*. One of his first acts of royalty, by which he evinced his contempt for the dying injunctions of his father, and his utter disregard of the most solemn oaths, was instantly recalling Piers Gaveston from exile, on whom he conferred a grant of the earldom of Cornwall, and all the other great estates of his cousin Edmond, which had lately reverted to the crown; which lavish and improvident grant was executed at Dumfries †.

A. D. 1307. 1 Aug.

Although not directly belonging to the history of Scotland, yet as greatly influencing the events of this important period, some general idea may be here attempted of the entire and infatuated devotion of Edward for his unworthy favourite Gaveston; through which England was involved in perpetual faction during the whole of this reign, and the government was reduced to extreme weakness and utter contempt both at home and abroad. Besides the lavish grant already

* Hemingf. I. 215. † Foed. Angl. III. 1, 2, 3.

A. D. 1307. Aug.

mentioned, immediately on his arrival at court, Gaveston was loaded with wealth and honours, and the entire direction of government was confided to his sole management. All the faithful and experienced ministers of the late king, the chancellor, treasurer, barons of exchequer, even all the judges, were turned out of office, because they had concurred in the recent banishment of the now triumphant favourite, and their places were filled up by his creatures and adherents *. Edward bestowed upon him in marriage his own niece, the sister of the young Earl of Gloucester †. When the king went to France next year to celebrate his nuptials with Isabella the daughter of Philip the Fair, he left Gaveston sole guardian of the kingdom, with more extensive powers than had ever been granted on any former occasion ‡. This profuse lavishment of royal favour excited infinite envy, which the favourite utterly wanted prudence to avert or soften. He wantonly provoked the princes of the blood and the ancient nobility by an ostentatious display of his riches

* Walsingh. 96. Hemingf. I. 244.

† Hemingf. I. 245. Malmsb. 96.

‡ Foed. Angl. III. 47—53.

and power, and by the insolent manifestation of his personal accomplishments. Some he offended by his satirical wit; others he affronted by his superior address in tournaments; he enraged all by engrossing the royal favour and bounty to himself; and he became hated, abhorred, and despised by the whole nation, both nobility and commons *. He even carried his pride and vanity to such a pitch as to procure a royal proclamation, by which all men were enjoined to give him the title of Earl of Cornwall, even in common conversation: But all persisted in using no other appellation than Piers Gaveston, indicative of his low and foreign origin †. A. D. 1307. Aug.

In the events belonging to the history of Scotland, which followed upon the demise of Edward I. much of the circumstances which were favourable to Robert in his efforts for the recovery of Scots independence, and consequently adverse to the accomplishment of the ambitious views of the English court, depended upon the weak character of Edward II. combined with the perpetual civil dissentions which subsisted during his inglorious

* Walsingh. 97.

† Malmsb. 98.

A. D. 1307. Aug. reign of favouritism, and the continually fluctuating yet arbitrary councils of the court. By these the feudal military power of the English barons, instead of seconding the ambition of the crown, was perpetually divided among the existing factions, and the strength of the nation became paralized. To enter upon these fully would require a connected view of the whole history of England during the entire reign of Edward II. and the early years of Edward III. But some notice of the civil dissentions in England seems indispensibly necessary to explain the connexion of causes and events in the history of Scotland, and these shall be noticed with as much brevity as possible.

6 Aug. From Dumfries Edward advanced to Cumnock in Airshire; and then, as if eager to lay down the useful burdens and duties inseparable from royalty, and exclusively to enjoy its empty pleasures and vain honours, he returned with the main strength of his army into England, where it was immediately disbanded *. By this inglorious retreat, after the extensive preparations which had been made by his father for a decisive campaign, he greatly

* Foed. Angl. III. 7.

disheartened all those of the Scots nation who favoured the English cause, and inspired fresh confidence into the partizans of Bruce. His whole progress into Scotland on the present occasion, may be thus journalized from the dates of writs in the Fœdera. Edward I. having died at Burgh-on-Sands, 7th July 1307; Edward II. was on the 6th August at Dumfries; 6th to 28th August at Cumnock in Airshire; 30th August at Tinwald and Dalgernock on his return south; 4th September at Carlisle; and 6th September at Bowes in Yorkshire*.

A. D. 1307. 6 Aug.

The Earl of Pembroke was continued in the office of guardian of Scotland, and was authorised to receive the whole Scots nation to the mercy of the King of England, excepting such as had participated in the slaughter of Cumyn, or had been originally engaged in the insurrection of Bruce †.

28 Aug.

Anthony Bec, bishop of Durham, who had been recently decorated by the Pope with the empty title of Patriarch of Jerusalem, and who had been in disgrace with Edward I. for a considerable time, having joined with many

4 Sept.

* Foed. Angl. III. 1—8. † Id. III. 7.

A. D. 1307. 4 Sept. others in flattering the young kings fondness for Gaveston, was about this time gratified by the restoration of the liberties and temporalties of his princely bishopric, which had been seized by the late king. This restitution was made at Carlisle, and was followed by many other marks of royal friendship to the patriarch *.

8 Sept. Notwithstanding the recent appointment of the Earl of Pembroke to the guardianship of Scotland; Edward, when at York in his way south, conferred that important office on John de Bretagne earl of Richmond; who was commanded to maintain sixty men at arms in his household, for the which he was to receive a daily allowance of ten merks, to be paid by the chamberlain of Scotland from the term of Michaelmas to the ensuing term of Candlemas †. Besides full power as guardian over all ranks of persons in Scotland, the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were enjoined to obey his commands, and to raise the whole strengths of their respective counties for assisting to repel, pursue, and subdue the Scots

* Foed. Angl. III. 9. † Id. III. 10.

rebels *. About this time Eustace de Cotesbache, the kings clerk, was appointed chamberlain and receiver of Scotland from Michaelmas, and Robert Heyton was nominated comptroller, both during pleasure †. A. D. 1307.

As soon as Edward had retired from Scotland, Robert invaded Galloway, commanding the inhabitants to repair to his standard; and on their refusal he wasted the country with fire and sword. John de St John appears to have commanded the English troops then in Galloway; and mention is made of one Donegal, as being a principal leader among the native adherents of the English; who is probably the same Duncan M'Dowal who formerly acted so conspicuous a part as an useful partizan of the English interest.

The guardian was directed to march against Robert for the protection of Galloway; and special orders were issued to Patrick earl of March or Dunbar, John de Hastings, John de Fitz-Marmeduke, Robert de Keith, Alexander de Abernethy, Henry de St Clair, Alexander de Baliol, and John de Vaus to accompany the guardian in this expedition. Man-

* Foed. Angl. III. 14.

† Id. III. 11.

A. D. 1307. dates were likewise issued to John, Baron de Wygeton and Richard le Brun, conservators of the kings peace in Lancashire and Cumberland, and to Roger Heron and Simon Ward, who held the same offices in Northumberland and the liberty of Tindale, to be in readiness with the fencible men of these counties to obey the guardian, but not to march out of their own districts unless upon some urgent necessity *. For the farther support of the war in Scotland, the sheriffs of London, out of the rents belonging to the king from that city, and the fines accruing to him in their courts, were required to purchase and transport to Berwick with all expedition, the following articles of provisions and military stores, to be delivered into the custody of the keeper of the kings stores in that garrison; twenty barrels of honey, one hundred barrels of wine, a large quantity of vinegar, twelve thousand weight of iron, five hundred pounds of hempen cord for balistae, five hundred pounds of hemp, one hundred balistae of one foot, with thirty thousand arrows to suit, forty balistae of two feet, and twelve thousand arrows, and twenty *balistae de turno* with two

* Foed. Angl. III. 14.

hundred arrows feathered with copper for their use *. The balistae of one and two feet must have been cross bows, carrying respectively quarrels or arrows of that length. The *balistae de turno* were larger implements of the same nature bent by means of machinery, and employed in the defence and attack of fortified places; they seem to be the same weapon which we shall afterwards have occasion to notice, as employed by the Scots in 1319, in the defence of Berwick, under the vernacular name of springalds. A. D. 1307.

Conformably to his orders, the new guardian marched into Galloway; and, according to the chronicle of Lanercort as quoted by Tyrrel, Robert was encountered, put to flight, and constrained to make a precipitate retreat from that province †. This authority has been considered as conclusive evidence of the defeat of Bruce at this time, it being otherwise difficult to account for his march immediately afterwards into the north of Scotland ‡. Although one defeat more or less, in the arduous progress of Bruce towards restoring the independence of his country, is of no manner

* Foed. Angl. III. 16. † Tyrrel, III. 225.

‡ A. of S. II. 26

A. D. 1307.

of importance to his reputation; yet, as the other ancient English historians are silent with regard to this supposed defeat, we may easily suppose him to have retired before a much superior army, from a country which appears to have been entirely devoted to his enemies, without having risked a battle. Barbour, who makes no mention whatever of the expedition of Robert into Galloway, attributes his march into the north to a desire of ascertaining what friends he possessed there, and for the purpose of reducing the barons of that part of Scotland to his obedience*. Robert had now acquired considerable power and reputation by his late successes in Airshire, and the nation began to put confidence in his conduct, and in the justice of his cause. Besides greatly increasing his power and resources for war, the reduction of the north would remove several dangerous enemies from his rear in any future contest with the royal army of England, would supply him with an excellent nursery for soldiers whenever his successes and finances should enable him to draw a large army into the field, and would open a safe asylum for retreat in case of any

* Barbour, VIII. 391—408.

severe reverse of fortune. Whatever may have been the motives of Robert on the present occasion, it is certain that he proceeded to the north of Scotland, and over-ran the country without opposition. A. D. 1307.

On setting out for this northern expedition, Sir James Douglas appears to have been left by Robert in the south of Scotland, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience *. Of his transactions on this occasion notice shall be taken afterwards. The principal leaders who accompanied Bruce to the north were, his brother Edward, the Earl of Lennox, Sir Gilbert de la Hay, and Sir Robert Boyd †: And, on his way towards the north, he was joined at the Mounth by Alexander and Simon Frazer, with all their power ‡. According to Fordun, Robert reduced Inverness, and many other castles and fortalices in the north, in the first part of his northern expedition, before his return to Slenath, the fortifications of all which he destroyed according to his usual custom §.

* Barbour, VIII. 417—427. † Id. VIII. 409—415.
‡ Id. IX. 9—11. § Ford. XII. xii.

A. D. 1307. 25 Dec. On his return towards the south, Robert was encountered by the Earl of Buchan with a tumultuary body of forces, partly English and partly Scots in the English interest. At the first approach of the royalists, the troops of Buchan fled *. This is the account of Fordun. But the complete discomfiture of Buchan, considerably subsequent to the present derout, appears to have taken place at Inverury, in May of the ensuing year 1308, though expressly declared by Barbour to have happened at Old Meldrum, in the neighbourhood of Inverury on Christmas day, or the 25th of December 1307 †. It must be confessed, however, that the chronology of this northern expedition is involved in extreme obscurity, and is very difficult to arrange; insomuch that there are various circumstances in the relation of Barbour, which seem necessary to be reported, that appear paralogisms or repetitions under a subsequent date. Yet it appears proper and necessary to retain the whole particulars of his narrative.

During his expedition into the north, and at the time when he was opposed by the Earl of Buchan, a grievous illness attacked the

* Ford. XII. xiii.

† Barb. IX. 202—204.

King of Scots, which enfeebled the energy of his mind, and greatly reduced his bodily strength; insomuch that for some time there were no hopes of his recovery. Fordun attributes his disorder to cold and famine and the hardships of war, which he had been subjected to ever since the unfortunate defeat at Methven *. It has been supposed, but without assigning any reason for the conjecture, that his disease was of a scorbutic nature, the ordinary term for a herpetic eruption †. Whatever may have been the nature of his sickness, Barbour says that it took place at Inverury, while on the march in search of the Earl of Buchan; and that his people, considering their position in that place as of too easy access, removed him on a horse-litter to Slenath, as a more defensible post, in which they proposed to remain until he might recover from his malady ‡. A. D. 1307. 25 Dec.

Receiving intelligence of Bruces situation, Buchan was eager to efface the dishonour of his former discomfiture; and, assembling a numerous body of forces, was joined by Mowbray, an English commander, and by Sir Da-

* Ford. XII. xvi. † A. of S. II. 26.
‡ Barb. IX. 107.

A. D. 1307. vid de Brechin and his followers *. According to the narrative of Barbour, this army marched towards Slenath, hoping to find the kings party an easy prey, while he lay sick and unable to direct their operations; and this is said expressly to have been a little after Martinmas, while the country was covered with snow †. If we could certainly rely on this express date, the dates of the subsequent circumstances in the contest between Bruce and the Earl of Buchan, might be adopted from Barbour. These differ materially from those which the excellent annalist of Scotland has deliberately adopted on mature consideration; yet it has been judged proper to give the substance of the narrative in Barbour, as not inconsistent with former events, and no way contradictory in itself. Robert appears to have evacuated Galloway on his march into the north, in September 1307. He may have encountered Buchan during his march northwards in October, and Buchan may have drawn a new army together to attack Bruce at Slenath by the end of November in that year.

* Barbour, IX. 110—121. † Id. IX. 127.

Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Slenath, Buchan found the royalists too strongly posted for him to attack them with any probability of success; and they were unwilling to put any thing to hazard by venturing a battle during the kings illness. Owing to these circumstances, no occurrence of any importance took place during three days, except skirmishes between the archers of the adverse armies *. A. D. 1307.

After some time, finding themselves straitened for provisions, and that their enemies daily encreased in strength and numbers, the royalists deemed it adviseable to retreat into Strathbolgie, which they did in such good order, and with so formidable an appearance, that Buchans troops did not venture to attack them during the march. They remained for some time in Strathbolgie, until Robert had considerably recovered from his illness, when they returned to Inverury as a more convenient station for procuring provisions during the winter. Upon this, Buchan marched with a body of about a thousand men towards the royalists, and established his quarters at Old Meldrum, on the night before Christmas eve. 23 Dec.

* Barbour, IX 148—159.

A. D. 1307. 24 Dec. Next day, Sir David de Brechin came suddenly with a detachment of troops to Inverury, cut off a few of the royalists at the end of the town, who were taken by surprise, and retired without loss *.

25 Dec. Enraged at this military affront, and forgetful of his malady from which he was by no means entirely recovered, Robert demanded to be placed on horseback; but was still so extremely feeble as to need being supported by a person on each side. Yet in this weak state he took the direction of his troops, said to have then amounted to about seven hundred men. With these he immediately marched to Old Meldrum, and made a furious attack upon Buchans troops, whom he defeated and put to flight with great slaughter †.

In the foregoing narrative, the decisive victory obtained by Robert over the Earl of Buchan, would appear to have been atchieved upon the 25th December 1307 But Lord Hailes expressly fixes the date of this important action to Ascension Day, or the 22d May 1308. And, from an attentive consideration of circumstances and authorities, this appears

* Barb. IX. 206—215. † Id. IX. 240—279.

to have been the true date *. Barbour may have inadvertently attributed the date of the first rencounter between Bruce and Buchan, already mentioned, to this second and more decisive victory. For it cannot be denied that he is extremely apt to confound times and circumstances with each other, having probably compiled the materials of his curious and otherwise valuable work, chiefly from oral recitations, many years after the events which he had undertaken to relate. A. D. 1308. 22 May.

Barbour says that Buchan and Mowbray fled into England after this complete defeat, and died soon afterwards †. And that Sir David de Brechin, being soon afterwards besieged in his castle of Brechin, by David the son of the Earl of Athole, from Kildrummy castle, and being hard pressed, agreed to quit his connexions with Buchan and the English interest, and joined the kings party ‡. In this last particular Barbour was certainly misinformed. The Earl of Athole had been taken and executed at London long before; the castle of Kildrummy was at this time in the

* A. of S. II. 27. Ford. XII. xvii.

† Barb. IX. 279—284. ‡ Id. IX. 285—293.

A. D. 1308. May.

possession of the English; and it appears from a circular letter addressed by Edward II. to the Scots barons, dated 20th May 1308, that David earl of Athole was then considered as faithful to the English interests*. Besides, we shall afterwards find David earl of Athole employed by Edward in endeavouring to negociate a truce with Scotland in 1312.

According to Barbour, the agitation of spirits occasioned by the insulting attack upon his quarters, and by the exultation consequent upon his victory, restored Robert to health. He thus versifies the expressions which the king is supposed to have used on this occasion:

> "Yhis, said the king, withowtyn weer †,
> Thair bost has maid me hale and feer ‡;
> For suld na medecyne swa sone
> Haiff coweryt § me as thai haiff done.—||

After this victory, Robert invaded the territories of the Earl of Buchan; and in revenge of the dangerous situations in which he had

* Foed. Angl. III. 81.

† Without doubt.

‡ Well and vigorous.

§ Recovered, or cured.

|| Barb. IX. 230—233.

been frequently involved by the hostilities of that nobleman, and of the temporary possession which the Earl had formerly procured of Annandale from Baliol, he so wasted his whole country, after the fierce manners of the age, that Barbour says very feelingly on the occasion, not improbably describing what may have fallen under his own observation, respecting the devasted state of Buchan, fifty years after this severe military execution: A. D. 1308. May.

> "That eftre* that weill fyfty yer,
> Men menyt † the herschip off Bowchquhane‡.

According to tradition, the town of Inverury received its charter of erection into a royal borough from Robert, on occasion of gaining this signal and decisive victory over the Earl of Buchan §. About this period, the citizens of Aberdeen, assisted by other partizans in the interest of the King of Scots, took the castle of Aberdeen by storm or surprize, slew the English garrison, and razed the for-

* After. † Pitied the situation of the heritage.
‡ Barb. IX. 299—300. § Stat. Ac. of Sc. VII. 331.

A. D. 1308. tifications *. Soon afterwards, a body of English having collected from the nearest garrisons, marched against Aberdeen with the intention of taking vengeance for this exploit. But the patriotic citizens attacked the English on their march, and completely overthrew them. According to Boece, on whose dubious authority this incident rests, the citizens had taken a number of prisoners in this second exploit, and had resolved to suspend the whole of them upon gibbets around their town, as a terror to their enemies: But the canons of the cathedral obtained leave to bury the slaughtered bodies of the English prisoners behind the church of St Nicholas; where their bones, and suitable inscriptions in memory of the transaction, continued to bear record of the charity of the canons †. But it would require better authority than that of Boece to warrant an implicit confidence in the reality of this savage feat of bloody reprizals.

Some years afterwards, in the eighth year of his reign, 24th October 1313, Robert made a grant to the city of Aberdeen of the custody of the whole forest of Stockett; reserv-

* A. of S. II. 27. † Boece, Aberd. Episc. Vit. fo. 6.

ing the vert and venison of the same only. He afterwards granted this forest in property to the citizens, with all its parts and pertinents, mills, waters, tolls, &c.; reserving a yearly rent of L.213. 6s. 8d. Sterling to the crown, equal to L.3200 a-year of modern money. This latter grant is dated at Berwick on the 10th December 1319, in the fourteenth year of his reign, in presence of the following witnesses: William, Bishop of St Andrews; William, Bishop of Dunkeld; Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath, and chancellor of Scotland; Thomas Ranulph, Earl of Moray, and Lord of Annandale and Man; Sir Robert de Keith, marshal of Scotland; Sir Gilbert de Haye, constable of Scotland; and Sir Alexander Frazer, chamberlain of Scotland *. A. D. 1308.

After having laid waste the territory of Buchan, Robert passed into Angus, intending during the winter to set all the country to the north of the Firth of Forth free from the English yoke. At this time a person, whom Barbour names Philip the Forestar of Platane, having collected a body of men in the pa-

* Archives of Aberd. ap. A. of S. II. 29.

A. D. 1308. triotic interest, took the castle of Forfar by escalade, then garrisoned by the English, and destroyed its fortifications by the kings command *. We have no farther particulars of the successes of Robert in this part of Scotland on the present occasion: Yet, at this dawn of prosperous fortune, many of the leading Scots, who had hitherto opposed him, and remained attached to the English interests, ranged themselves under the standard of Bruce; among whom Sir David de Brechin, who, though the king's nephew, had hitherto adhered to the Earl of Buchan, one of his most virulent enemies, now submitted to the authority of his uncle †.

From a circular letter, dated 20th May 1308, addressed by Edward II. to the Scots barons, the following persons were understood to be then faithful to the English interest. David, Earl of Athole; William, Earl of Ross, and Hugh his son; Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and Patrick his son; David de Brechin, David de Graham, Reginald de Cheyne, Robert de Keith, Henry de St Clair, John de Kingston, Adam de Swinburn, and Henry de Halyburton ‡. Yet this list might surely have

* Barb. IX. 310—323. † A. of S. II. 30.

‡ Foed. Angl. III. 81.

been considerably augmented; for the Lords A. D. 1308.
of Lorn, father and son, were still inimical to the King of Scots; and even his nephew Randolph, afterwards the loyal and heroic Earl of Moray, did not rejoin his standard for sometime afterwards.

In the beginning of this year, 15th January, 15 Jan.
before Edward II. passed over to France to accomplish his marriage with the princess Isobella, he renewed the commission to the Earl of Richmond as guardian of Scotland, on the same salary and with the same powers as formerly, and to continue from Candlemas to Easter*. But, about five months afterwards, he conferred this office on Robert 21 June.
de Umphraville, Earl of Angus, and William de Ross of Hamelake, jointly; while he at the same time sent letters to John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, and several other distinguished persons in Scotland, ordering them to retain the charge of the several districts which had been intrusted to their care, until his own arrival in Scotland, promising to be at Carlisle for that purpose in the end of August; and he sent orders to Cotesbache, his chamberlain

* Foed. Angl. III, 50.

A. D. 1308. in Scotland, to provide three thousand salted salmon for the use of his intended expedition *.

While matters were assuming a favourable aspect for King Robert in the northern parts of Scotland, his brother Edward invaded Galloway; though Barbour, who is often confused in his arrangements, defers his recital of this successful attempt until after his narrative of the siege and capture of Perth †. 29 June. In the prosecution of this enterprize, Edward Bruce defeated the inhabitants of Galloway in battle near the river Dee ‡. In his account of this affair, Barbour says, that Edward Bruce was opposed by Sir Ingram Umphraville, and Sir John de St John, whom he names Aymery, who jointly commanded in Galloway at that time for the King of England. On mentioning Umphraville on this occasion, Barbour adds, that he had acquired so great renown of knightly prowess, that he always had a red bonnet carried before him on the point of a spear, as a token that he had attained to the summit of chivalric honour. These two leaders commanded a body of

* Foed. Angl. III. 50. † Barb. IX. 472.

‡ Ford. XII. xviii.

about twelve hundred men; while Edward Bruce, who had scarcely so large a force, attacked them near Cree with such determined bravery and success, that, after losing near two hundred men in the action, they were constrained to seek for safety in flight. Most of the fugitives are said to have been slain in the pursuit; but the two leaders made good their escape into a castle, which is named Bothwell in Barbour, but which name is probably an error in transcription for Butel in Galloway; as it is not at all likely that the English commanders should have been able to proceed to so great a distance as the castle of Bothwell in the lower ward of Lanerkshire*. For some time after this victory, having nothing to oppose him in the field, Edward Bruce carried every thing before him, reducing the people of the land to obedience, and causing great numbers to swear allegiance to his royal brother†. A. D. 1308. 29 June.

From the castle where he had taken refuge after his defeat at Cree, St John is said to have repaired into England, where he collected a fresh force of fifteen hundred horsemen, and again advanced into Galloway against

* Barbour, IX. 522. † Id. ib. 651.

A. D. 1308. Edward Bruce, whom he hoped to surprise unprepared, by means of a forced march*. But, having received accurate intelligence of the motions of St John, Edward Bruce, whose chivalric courage often led him to attempt actions that at least bordered on temerity, and even to atchieve exploits which men of more judicious valour would never have ventured upon, now hazarded a most daring enterprize in which he happily succeeded. He ordered his infantry to entrench themselves in a strong position; and, taking fifty select horsemen along with him, he gained the rear of the track in which St John was marching to attack him. Having a perfect knowledge of the country, he followed close upon the rear of the English, favoured by so thick a mist that no object could be seen at the distance of a bow-shot. It would appear that Edward meant to have thus followed the enemy till they should have commenced their attack upon his entrenched camp: But the mist cleared suddenly away, and he found himself so close up with the rear of the English, that a retreat seemed impossible with any chance of safety. He instantly determined, there-

* Barbour, IX. 548.

fore, to attack them; and giving orders for a resolute charge, he and his small party setting up a great shout, bore down upon them with the utmost fury. Astonished at this sudden and altogether unexpected attack, the English, who were only in a loose order of march, were thrown into confusion, and many of them were unhorsed and slain. Having quickly collected and rallied his small troop, Edward gave the English a second furious charge, before they had time to recover from their panic, or to draw up in any order of battle; and, having again rallied with the utmost promptitude, a third violent charge threw them into complete and inextricable disorder, and put them entirely to the rout *. Barbour particularly specifies having received an account of the circumstances of this singularly desperate and successful exploit from Sir Allan de Cathcart, whom he characterizes as a courteous, worthy, and brave knight, who then accompanied Edward Bruce †. "It is pleasing to trace a family likeness in an ancient portrait ‡:" And it may be added that the resemblance continues to illustrate the family canvas.

A. D. 1308.

* Barbour, IX. 577—626. † Id. ib. 572—576.

‡ A. of S. II. 31.

A. D. 1308. Having thus repeatedly defeated his enemies, and driven them from the field, Edward assailed the various fortified places in Galloway, from whence he expelled the English garrisons with little resistance, and reduced the whole country to obedience within the year. In an old monkish rhyme preserved by Fordun, he is said,

"Insula combusta, semper Scotis inimica."

He laid waste the *island* with fire and sword, which had always been hostile to the Scots. Alluding, doubtless, to the long contention of the Gallovidians under their own lords, for the preservation of certain peculiar laws and customs in opposition to the government and general laws of Scotland, laying claim to a species of independence, and frequently erecting the standard of rebellion. By the expression *island*, interior Galloway is probably understood, or that portion of the country now called the shire of Wigton, which forms a kind of peninsula †.

During the expedition of Robert into the north of Scotland, and while Edward Bruce

* Ford, XII. xvii.

† A. of S. II. 31.

was engaged in the reduction of Galloway, Douglas was employed in endeavouring to reduce Douglasdale, and the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to subjection. Of this enterprize Barbour gives the following relation, premising a traditionary report that, in the whole course of his military career, this celebrated warrior was victorious in fifty-seven engagements, and had been thirteen times defeated *. A. D. 1308.

His first exploit was the reduction of his own castle of Douglas a second time, which he accomplished by the following stratagem. Having arrived undiscovered in the neighbourhood of the castle with a body of armed men, he placed the greater part of his people in ambush as near as possible to the gate. He then sent fourteen chosen men, disguised as peasants and with concealed arms, having sacks filled with grass laid across their horses, with orders to pass in sight of the castle as if carrying grain for sale to Lanerk fair. Sir John de Webeton was then captain of Douglas castle under the Lord Clifford; and the garrison being in want of provisions, Webeton issued forth with a considerable party of

* Barbour, VIII. 431—433.

A. D. 1308. his men, intending to plunder the supposed peasants, who hastened from their enemies until they had succeeded in drawing the English beyond the ambush in which Douglas was concealed. Then suddenly throwing down their sacks, and stripping off the peasant frocks which they wore over their armour, they mounted to attack the English, giving notice to Douglas by a concerted signal. Douglas now burst from his ambushment; and the English being unexpectedly assailed both in front and rear, the captain and his whole party were slain *.

After this exploit, Douglas found means, probably by treaty of surrender and safe conduct, to get possession of the castle; whence he dismissed the constable and the remainder of the garrison into England, with sufficient money to defray the charges of their journey. A letter was found in a box belonging to Webeton, written to him by a lady whom he courted, engaging to marry him on condition that he should bravely defend for a year the castle which had been confided to his charge †.

* Barbour, VIII. 437—487. † Id. ib. 487—498.

After having razed the castle of his own ancestors, that it might not again serve as a harbour for the English, Douglas proceeded into the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, both of which he reduced to obedience *. While engaged in this service, he happened to pass one evening by a house upon the river Lyne, in which he proposed to take up his quarters for the night; but found it pre-occupied by his enemies, Alexander Stewart Lord Bonkle, Thomas Randolph, and Adam o Gordon, with some followers. Douglas assaulted the house; and its inmates issuing out to fight, several of them were slain. Bonkle and Randolph were taken prisoners, and Gordon made his escape under cover of the night †.

A. D. 1308.

Having effectuated his purposes in the south of Scotland, Douglas proceeded into the north and conducted Randolph to the king his uncle. Upon their meeting, the following conversation is reported to have passed between them. " Nephew, said the king, you have been an apostate for a season, and you must now be reconciled." To this Randolph answered. " You require repentance from me, while you

* Id. ib. 513—520. and IX. 672—677.

† Barb. IX. 681—722.

A. D. 1308. ought rather to do penance. Having challenged the king of England to war, you ought to assert your title in the open field, and not to betake yourself to cowardly ambuscades, in which you sculk like an outlaw." The king calmly replied. "That may be hereafter, and perchance eer long: Mean while it is fitting that your proud language receive due chastisement; and that you be taught to know my right and your own duty." After this rebuke, the king ordered him for a time into close confinement*.

This reported speech of defiance from Randolph to his uncle seems hardly probable. But the circumstances of severity exercised against Randolph, after his capture, may have been dexterously employed as a cloak in case of future adversity, that he might be enabled to plead constraint for having deserted the English party. However this may have been, he soon afterwards embraced the cause of his royal uncle, whom he constantly served with unshaken fidelity, consummate wisdom, and successful bravery. Bonkle, who was made prisoner at the same time, likewise joined the patriots.

* Id. ib. 736—757.

After the junction of Douglas, Robert found himself in a situation to endeavour to take vengeance on the Lord of Lorn, who had reduced him to such extremity of distress and danger after the discomfeiture of Methven. He had now reduced the greater part of the north of Scotland; and, being at the head of a respectable force, he invaded the territory of Lorn. To oppose this invasion, John, the son of Alexander Lord of Argyle and Lorn, assembled a force of about two thousand men, whom he posted in a strong and narrow defile where only one horseman could pass at a time, the road running in some places along the brink of a precepice overhanging the sea, on the side of Cruachan Bean, one of the highest and largest mountains in Scotland *. John of Lorn himself lay off at sea within sight, probably intending to have landed with the forces he had on board in the rear of the kings troops, after they should be engaged in the narrow pass. A. D. 1308.

As it was necessary to force his way through this strait, and having procured accurate intelligence of the nature of the ground and the disposition of the troops of Lorn, Robert divid- 23 Aug.

* Barb. X. 27.

A. D. 1308. 23 Aug.

ed his own army, and made very judicious dispositions for the assault. He detached one division, consisting intirely of light armed troops and archers, under the command of Douglas, with orders to make a circuit round the mountain, and, by climbing the hill behind the pass, to get upon the summit above and in the rear of the position of the highlanders; while he led the main body of his army directly towards the pass, as if blindly falling into the snare. He was immediately assailed by the troops of Lorn; who were themselves soon afterwards attacked by Douglas from the summit of the mountain. Having annoyed them for some time by repeated flights of arrows, and observing that they began to fall into disorder, Douglas descended the mountain and fell upon them sword in hand, while the kings division pressed upon them from the pass. Thus caught in their own snare, attacked at once in front, flank, and rear, the men of Lorn became panic struck, fell into inextricable confusion, broke, and took to flight. They were pursued with great slaughter; while John of Lorn had the exquisite distress of being a spectator of the total defeat of his people from his galley, without being able to con-

tribute to their assistance. On this circumstance, Barbour expresses the following generous sentiment: A. D. 1308.

" To John of Lorn it suld displese,
I trow *, when he hys men mycht se,
Owte off hys schyppys † fra the se,
Be slayn and chassyt in the hill,
That he mycht set na help thar till.
Bot it angrys als gretumly ‡
To good harts that ar worthy,
To se thair fayis § fullfill thair will
Als to thaimselff to thole || the ill ¶.

The sense of the four last lines is, That, to generous and noble minds, it must give equal dissatisfaction to see their enemies triumphant, although not personally involved in the misfortune.

After this victory, which appears to have been complete, Robert laid waste the territory of Lorn, and gained possession of the castle of Dunstaffnage, the chief residence of that powerful family, which he garrisoned as a check upon the newly reduced territory. Lorn and his son retired with their ships to England, where Alexander the father soon after-

* I believe, or am convinced. † Ships. ‡ Much.
§ Foes. || Suffer. ¶ Barb. X. 96—104.

A. D. 1308. wards died *. Barbour alleges that Alexander of Argyle, seeing Robert carry every thing before him, made his submission and gave hostages for his fidelity; while John his son, scorning to submit, fled by sea to England †. But this is inconsistent with the established fact of Alexander dying soon afterwards in England: The hostages, mentioned by Barbour, were probably given by the principal vassals of Lorn as pledges of their fidelity to King Robert.

While the King of Scots and his brave associates thus gallantly and successfully exerted themselves in wresting their country from the domination of the English and their recreant Scots adherents, every thing was feeble and fluctuating in the councils of their enemies. The measures of Edward II. varied perpetually, as directed by the changes of his own capricious humour, or as swayed by his unworthy minions. The Earl of Richmond, who had been appointed guardian of Scotland in September 1307, but whom we have only once had occasion to mention during all the late important events of the war, was now
21 June. removed from his office. Robert de Umfra-

* Ford. XII. 18. † Barbour, X. 123—130.

ville earl of Angus, and William de Ros de Hamelake, were appointed joint guardians in his stead*. To them Henry de Beaumont was joined in commission some time afterwards, 16th August 1309†. Within four days two separate commissions were issued: By one of which Robert de Clifford was appointed sole guardian, while by the other Robert de Umfraville earl of Angus had the same appointment‡; because the King of England knew not at the time which of them would except. It appears that Clifford accepted, and acted as sole guardian for a short time. About three weeks afterwards, 14th September 1309, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester was appointed Captain General in Scotland§. In three months, 15th December 1309, Robert de Clifford was again appointed guardian‖. And in other three months he was succeeded in office by John de Segrave¶. These rapid changes are here mentioned before the periods at which they respectively took place, in proof of the weak fluctuations in the councils of the King of England.

A. D. 1308. 21 June.

* Foed. Angl. III. 94. † Id. III. 160. ‡ Id. III. 161.
§ Id. III. 175, and 193. ‖ Id. III. 195. ¶ Id. III. 203.

A. D. 1308. We have formerly had occasion to mention the versatile conduct of William de Lamberton Bishop of St Andrews; yet his heart and affections seem ever to have favoured the cause of his country, and the versatility of his conduct may be explained and excused, if not justified, from the imperious necessity of circumstances, and to preserve his own safety. He had remained a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Methven in 1306: But he now contrived to make his peace with 20 Mar. Edward. At first he was permitted to remain a prisoner at large within the county of Northampton, receiving an allowance of a hundred pounds yearly from the revenues of his see, then under sequestration *. Having made submission to the King of England in the most ample manner, and John de Mowbray, Alexander de Abernethy, Robert de Keith, Adam de Gordon, and Henry de Halyburton becoming sureties for his good behaviour, he took an oath of fidelity to Edward upon the consecrated host and the cross of Gnaith, engaging to be the faithful liegeman of England, and soon afterwards acquired the full 11 Aug. confidence of Edward †. With the apparent

* Foed. Angl. III. 80. † Id. III. 82.

zeal of a new convert, he engaged to publish the sentence of excommunication against the King of Scots and his adherents*. After this he appears to have returned to Scotland, and even to have had confidential intercourse with Robert: But this must have remained a secret, for he retained the confidence of Edward for a long time afterwards. Even so late as 24th July 1311, 7th March 1312, and 11th July 1312, in his letters to the Pope, Edward says that he expected much aid from the Bishop of St Andrews, in whom the Scots reposed especial confidence†.

A. D. 1308. 11 Aug.

1309. 4 Mar.

Soon after the return of Lamberton to Scotland, Philip King of France interposed his good offices to endeavour to produce a reconciliation between Edward and Robert; and for this purpose, with the permission of Edward, he appointed Oliver des Roches as a messenger or envoy to treat with Robert and the Bishop of St Andrews. The King of England granted a safe conduct to this person, and appointed Gilbert de Hall sergeant at arms to be his conductor‡. According to one of the English historians, the Earl of

4 Mar.

* Foed. Angl. III. 84. † Id. III. 274, 308, 332.
‡ Id. III. 127.

A. D. 1309. Mar. Gloucester and two other English earls had been previously sent, 23d January, by Edward to Robert upon this errand; and nuncios from the Pope, accompanied by other persons from Edward, proceeded into Scotland for the same purpose. Through this interposition, a truce was consented to between the two countries, to continue until the ensuing feast of All-Saints *.

About the present period the following incident is related as having happened in Fife. Thomas Gray, who commanded for Edward in the castle of Couper, while on his return from the coronation of his sovereign, was way laid by one Walter Bickirkton, or Bickerton, a Scots knight, who placed himself in ambush on the road with four hundred horsemen. Thomas Gray, who had only twenty six men at arms in his escort all well armed and excellently mounted, having received private intelligence of the disposition and numbers of the Scots, ordered the squires and other attendants belonging to his party to come up in regular array under a banner at a moderate distance in his rear, while he rode on before with his men at arms in readiness

* Foed. Angl. III. 147.

to encounter the Scots. On coming up to them, he made a furious charge through their ranks; and after rallying his small band, charged through them again towards his own people in the rear. The Scots, disheartened by this successful attack of the English, and now seeing the squires and attendants advancing in good array, fled on all sides into the bogs and marshes, leaving their horses a prey to the English *. A. D. 1309. Mar.

Upon another occasion, but for which no time is specified, Alexander Frazer, being with a party in the neighbourhood of Couper, placed most of his people in ambush and dispatched a small party to rifle a village within sight of the castle. Gray sallied forth with a small detachment, and the principal force of the Scots rode directly towards the the castle gates, hoping to intercept his return. But Gray rode deliberately towards them through the town, till within a very short distance; and then, charging furiously through the ranks of the Scots, got safely within the barriers of the castle and rejoined his garrison, who were preparing to issue out to his rescue †.

* Scala. Chron. ap. Leland. II. 545.

† Id. ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

From the Establishment of the first Truce between Robert I. and Edward II. in March 1309; *to the first Invasion of England by the King of Scots, in* 1311.

A. D. 1309. June.

THE late truce between the Scots and English seems to have been ill observed on both sides. It had been consented to or desired by Edward, apparently as an expedient for enabling him to recal his favourite Gaveston, whom he had been forced to send into honourable exile as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and whom he now recalled and received with transports of joy. While engaged in war, and consequently having his high-spirited barons and their martial followers constantly around him, Edward was continually exposed to their remonstrances, and liable to have their re-

quests irresistibly enforced. But during peace, while the nobles were living dispersedly at their respective castles, they had no certain means of concerting or executing any determined measure of opposition to the sovereign. This may account for the frequent banishments and recals of Gaveston, and in a great measure for the disinclination and inability of Edward to encounter the Scots patriots in the field with the greatly superior military force of England. In modern times, the dissatisfaction of the nation with the measures or ministers of the government is constitutionally announced by opposition in parliament; while in those days the same sentiment was expressed by factious associations in the camp.

A. D. 1309. June.

By an ancient historian, the military weakness of the reign of Edward is attributed to the uncommonly small number of the English great nobility, who were then able to follow the king into the field. He remarks, that formerly fifteen earls, or more, used to follow the royal standard; but that in this reign only five or six could be found for this purpose, all the rest of the earldoms being in the hands of the king by forfeiture or minority, or by the inability of their earls *. Yet surely the military vassals

* Malmsb. 159.

A. D. 1309. June. still existed, and might have been called out under the administrators of the vacant earldoms.

30 July. In a public manifesto, Edward charged the Scots as having violated the truce which he had granted to them at the request of the King of France *; yet he candidly acknowledged in a more private instrument, that the infraction of the truce had been reciprocal, and even made advances to have it renewed

5 Aug. and prolonged †. But as this was not acceded to by Robert, he now issued orders for his military tenants to attend him at Newcastle on Michaelmas day, to march against the Scots; and he likewise required certain quotas of able-bodied infantry to be raised for this service in Wales, and in several of the northern and western counties of England, which were to assemble at Berwick eight days after Michaelmas. Of these, Yorkshire was commanded to furnish a thousand men, and Northumberland four hundred; and the Bishop of Durham was directed to supply three hundred from the bishopric, and

* Foed. Angl. III. 147.

† Id. III. 192.

two hundred from his liberty of north Tindale*. A. D. 1309. 5 Aug.

What were the circumstances of infringement of the truce does not appear, but we may suppose that petty enterprizes of hostility were carried on by the inferior partizans on both sides. This could hardly fail to take place in the then state of mutual irritation between the two nations, and while the English and their adherents still held numerous fortified places scattered over the country of Scotland. Several English nobles had received grants of the estates and castles which belonged to the principal associates of Robert; and continual feuds would naturally take place between the retainers of these occupants and the adherents of the ancient proprietors, who were now anxiously endeavouring to recover their patrimonies. The English garrisons, when straitened for provisions, would endeavour to procure them from those whom they considered as rebellious vassals of their lords; while the country people, considering the English as violent intruders, and probably instigated by their own chieftains, would do their utmost to distress and cut off the parties and supplies of the hostile garrisons.

* Foed. Angl. III. 147—157.

A. D. 1309. 21 May. In the course of this year James the Stewart of Scotland died, and was succeeded in that hereditary office by his son Walter, who entered heartily into the cause of Robert, and afterwards married his daughter the princess Marjory.

Aug. 21. Before the assemblage of his army, and being still inclined to pursue pacific measures, Edward appointed Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, to treat for a renewal of the truce with the Scots *. To meet with him, Robert gave a commission to Sir John de Menteith and Sir Nigel Campbell; but no useful consequences seem to have proceeded from the interview of these commissioners. At this time the Sieur de Varennes, ambassador from France at the court of England, interfering to promote these pacific measures, transmitted openly a letter addressed to Robert as Earl of Carrick, and secretly entrusted his messenger with a private letter in which he gave him the title of King of Scots. Having intercepted these dispatches, Edward transmitted them to Philip, complaining of the treacherous conduct of Varennes; for he affected to believe that the duplicity in the conduct of the ambassador had not been authorised by the King of France †.

* Foed. Angl. III. 150. 163. † Id. ib. 150

On purpose to pacify Edward, Philip now sent his brother Lewis count of Evereux, and Peter Guy bishop of Soissons, as ambassadors to England; directing them to use their best endeavours to procure a renewal of the truce. In consequence of this measure, Edward authorised Robert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, John de Crombewell or Cromwell, John Wogan, and John de Benstede, to negociate and conclude a truce with the Scots; declaring that he consented to this at the desire of his dearest father-in-law and friend the King of France, but who was not to be considered in any respect as the ally of the Scots nation. In this commission it was specially provided, that nothing should be valid in their negociations unless consented to by Wogan and Benstede*. Who were the commissioners appointed by Robert for the conduct of this negociation on his part, does not appear; perhaps Sir John de Menteith, and Sir Nigel Campbell, formerly mentioned.

A. D. 1309.

29 Nov.

About this period, the singularly mysterious transactions for suppressing the famous order of Knights Templars were going on in the Christian world; the nature and circumstances

* Foed. Angl. III. 192.

A. D. 1309. Nov. of which do not admit of being particularly noticed in this work, as we have no sufficient records of the part which was taken by the government of Scotland in the inexplicable proscription of that renowned fraternity of military monks. Their grand crimes seem to have been extreme affluence and laxity, perhaps liberality of sentiment, not accordant with the ideas of the age. However this may have been, Lamberton was employed towards the close of this year, in conjunction with John de Soleres the papal legate, at the abbey of Holyrood close to Edinburgh, in collecting evidence to justify the suppression of that celebrated order, and the seizure of their immensely rich possessions *. This order was dissolved by the Pope, in a general council at Vienne in Dauphiny, 16th October 1311; and all its riches were bestowed upon the rival order of Knights Hospitalers of St John of Jerusalem, lately known by the title of Knights of Malta †.

The negociations for a renewal of the truce between the Scots and English were soon interrupted, in consequence of Robert besieging

* Wilkins, Concil. II. 302.

† Du Pin, cent. XIV. ch. 2.

the castle of Rutherglen, or Ruglen, in Clydes- A. D. 1309.
dale; and the King of England sent an army, 3 Dec.
under the command of his nephew the young Earl of Gloucester, to raise the siege *. Historians are silent respecting the event of this enterprize, yet the siege was probably raised; as, according to some authors, Edward penetrated in the ensuing year to Renfrew considerably farther down the Clyde than Rutherglen, which he would hardly have ventured upon had Rutherglen been in the possession of the Scots. Besides, it does not appear to have been recovered from the English until the year 1313, about four years afterwards †.

Notwithstanding this interruption to the 1310.
negociations, a fresh attempt was afterwards 16 Feb.
made for the same purpose; and Lamberton bishop of St Andrews was now appointed one of the commissioners on the part of Edward. In this commission Robert de Umfraville and six other persons are conjoined; and Edward repeats his former declaration, that he was induced to grant peace to the Scots at the instance of the King of France. These negociations ended in the conclusion of a truce. In a letter from Philip to Edward, he men-

* Foed. Angl. III. 193. † A. of S. II. 36.

A. D. 1310. 16 Feb. tions the *King of Scots* as a party; although Edward pertinaciously refused to concede that title, and had formerly complained to Philip against the French envoy De Varennes for having given that title to Robert*. Notwithstanding of this truce, Edward appointed John de Segrave to the guardianship of Scotland, on both sides of the *Scots sea;* for such was then the name of the Firth of Forth. He had a salary allowed him for retaining sixty men at arms in his household, as formerly given to Richmond, and was authorised to employ the whole military power of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, for supporting his authority against the Scots. The stipulations of this truce do not seem to have been much respected by the Scots, as we soon find measures employed by Edward for collecting an army and fleet for the invasion of Scotland†.

24 Feb. Early in this year, the estates of Scotland being assembled at Dundee, solemnly declared that Robert, Lord of Annandale, the competitor, ought, by the laws and customs of Scotland in former times, to have been preferred to Baliol in the competition for the crown;

* Fœd. Angl. III. 150, 201, 215. † Id. III. 211.

and they therefore recognize Robert Bruce now reigning as their just and lawful sovereign, engaging to defend his right and the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents of every rank, power, or dignity; declaring all contraveners of the same to be guilty of treason against the king, and to be held as traitors against the nation *. At the same time the representatives of the clergy, bishops, abbots, priors, and procurators, issued a pastoral declaration to all the faithful of the land, bearing, "That the Scots nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character †." What part Lamberton, who was chief bishop of Scotland, may have taken in the formation and promulgation of this patriotic declaration, does not appear. But, as he still continued to preserve the confidence of the King of England, he must either have been adverse to this measure, or must have very carefully concealed his sentiments. Yet a manifesto had been issued by the bishops of Scotland, twelve in number, of a

A. D. 1310. 24 Feb.

* Instrument in the Gen. Regist. House, Edin.

† Anderson, Indep. Ap. No. 1.

A. D. 1310. 24 Feb. prior date, to the same effect, and almost in the same words. In this previous deed, the names of the bishops are all engrossed, with Lamberton at their head: yet it may be presumed that his name was assumed by his brethren without his knowledge or consent*.

It has been formerly noticed that, in securing the good will and co-operation of the Scots clergy, during his arduous struggle against England and the Pope, Robert had evinced consummate wisdom. By this means he disarmed the papal thunder of all its noxious efficacy, though freely launched in aid of the temporal power of England, to crush him and the other Scots patriots under the terrors of excommunication and interdict. This idea, which seems to have been of such inestimable consequence, has been frequently adverted to; but the importance of the circumstance seems to excuse its repetition.

30 Mar. At this period, at the earnest request of Walter Mowbray and other friends of the Cumyn family, Edward consented to exchange Mary the sister of Robert, whom we have formerly seen ordered to be confined in a cage at Roxburgh castle, against William

* A. of S. III. 246.

Cumyn, then a prisoner in Scotland: and authority was accordingly given to Henry de Beaumont, constable of Roxburgh castle, to effectuate that exchange *. A. D. 1310. 30 Mar.

For several years Edward had been engaged in continual and violent disputes with his nobility, occasioned by his inordinate fondness for Gaveston. By these, the operations of the war against the Scots had been interrupted, and no efficient measures could be taken for carrying it on in an effectual manner. Having now entered into a constrained agreement with the leading nobles, by which the authority of government was in a great measure entrusted to the management or controul of a committee of twelve noblemen, named the Lords *Ordainers*; preparations were made for prosecuting the war in Scotland with vigour and efficacy †. Robert now likewise made demonstrations towards a more active conduct than he had lately pursued, and his progress excited alarm in England; especially as he seemed preparing to attack Perth, at that time an important fortress, and esteemed the capital of Scotland, which was then occupied

* Fœd. Angl. III. 204.

† Ryley, 526. Fœd. Angl. III. 204, 220, 222.

A. D. 1310. by an English garrison, under the command of Sir John Fitz-Marmaduke. Edward made
15 June. immediate preparations for sending succours to Perth; for which purpose a fleet was appointed to sail for the river Tay, under the command of John de Cauton, Caunton, or Compton *, who was superseded in the com-
6 Aug. mand by Simon de Montague †. Alexander de Abernethy was soon afterwards appointed to the wardenship or military government of that part of Scotland which lies between the firth of Forth and the mountains, now threatened by Robert ‡.

Besides providing for the immediate defence of Perth, Edward proposed to lead a large army into Scotland, on purpose to reduce the whole country to obedience. With this view, the Earl of Ulster was directed to assume the command of a considerable body of Irish troops, which was ordered to assemble at Dublin §; and the maritime towns in England were enjoined to fit out forty ships, apportioned among them according to the abilities of each, to transport the Irish troops to the wes-

* Fœd. Angl. III. 211. † Id. III. 223.
‡ Id. III. 211—222. § Id. III. 213.

tern coast of Scotland *. John de Argyle and Lorn, who was now in the service of England, where he had remained ever since the defeat of his troops at Crethinben, was ordered to repair with his fleet to the west coast of Scotland, to co-operate with the intended invasion from Ireland †. In addition to these minor preparations, the whole military array of England was ordered to assemble in arms at Berwick on the 8th September ‡; but the English nobles, disgusted with the conduct of Edward, and detesting his favourite Gaveston, repaired slowly and unwillingly to the royal standard §.

A. D. 1310. Sept.

Owing to various delays, the season became too far advanced for executing the whole plan of military operations which had been concerted. Either owing to the versatility and indecisiveness of the character of Edward, or from inability to advance the necessary funds for putting the expedition from Ireland in motion, the intended invasion by the Earl of Ulster was countermanded; yet it was resolved to carry the other parts of the plan of operations into execution. Accordingly, he be-

* Foed. Angl. III. 212.
† Id. III. 223.
‡ Id. III. 222.
§ Ford. XII. 18.

A. D. 1310. 20 Sep. gan his march towards the end of September, and invaded Scotland with a considerable army. Before leaving England, Edward appointed Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, to the office of guardian during his absence; besides whom, the Earls of Lancaster, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford, remained at home, intent on framing ordinances for the depression of the royal power, and busied in contriving schemes for separating the king from Gaveston. The Earls of Gloucester and Warrene, the Lords Henry Percy and James Clifford, with many other nobles and barons, accompanied the king *.

Quitting the ordinary eastern tract by the vale of Lothian, in which his fleet might have co-operated with the army, he chose to march into Scotland by an unusual inland route. From Roxburgh castle, he marched through the forest of Selkirk to Biggar; and is said to have penetrated from thence to Renfrew in the lower part of the vale of Clyde. This expedition, which seems to have had no direct object in view, and which certainly produced no important consequences, might have proved

* Hemingf. I. 247. Malmsb. 106.

exceedingly hazardous, if the King of Scots could then have collected a sufficient army to oppose Edward in the field; but he contented himself with ordering detachments to hover upon the flanks of the English, intercepting their convoys, beating up their quarters, and cutting off their stragglers and foraging parties. A. D. 1310. Oct.

Finding no enemy to cope with, and probably unable to procure forage and provisions for his army in Clydesdale, Edward soon retreated to Linlithgow; from whence he retired through the Lothians and the eastern part of Lammer-moor to Berwick. During this vain and fruitless expedition, Edward was at Roxburgh 20th September: at Biggar, from the 1st to the 6th October: at Linlithgow, from the 13th to the 25th October: and appears to have returned to Berwick on or before the 10th November *. On the authority of Fordun, he is said to have proceeded to Renfrew †. But no evidence appears, from the writs published by Rymer, of his having ever gone beyond Biggar and Linlithgow, at least personally. 13 Oct. 10 Nov.

* Foed. Angl. III. 223—230. † Ford. XII. 18.

A. D. 1310. Nov. During this inglorious and useless parade of the English military power, in which the only feat of arms seem to have been the ravaging and destroying the lands and houses of the Scots patriots, Robert judiciously avoided any encounter with the army of Edward, contenting himself with ordering numerous sudden and violent attacks upon his enemies, as occasion offered; keeping his detached parties secure in the woods, mountains, and morasses of the country, unless when circumstances appeared favourable for cutting off the marauding or foraging parties of the English. In one of these sudden assaults, the Scots cut off a body of three hundred English and Welsh, before any sufficient force could be brought up for their rescue *. Of this cautiously prudent conduct, which Edward was pleased to consider as proceeding from cowardice, he made a very silly boast to the Pope, in the following terms: "When we lately marched into Scotland to repress the rebellion of Robert Bruce and his accomplices, traitors alike against us and your holiness, they lurked in hiding-places like foxes, not

* Ford. XII. xviii. Malmsb. 107.

daring to oppose us in the field *." Edward probably flattered himself that the Scots nation would have submitted implicitly to the parade of his superior army, as they had formerly done in 1304 to his father. But the leaders and situation of both nations were now entirely altered. The Scots were united under the command of a prudently heroic sovereign; while the English were divided among themselves, and reluctantly submitted to the orders of a weak prince, continually led by unworthy favourites, and incapable ministers. A. D. 1310. Nov.

On this occasion, Robert wisely avoided to risk the safety of his crown and country, by rashly engaging with the greatly superior army of England; and instead of hazarding the fate of Scotland on the precarious event of battle, he judiciously protracted the war; knowing that in an invasion at the end of autumn, the heavy cavalry, on which the English placed their chief dependence, would necessarily be much injured, if not entirely ruined, by the difficulty of procuring forage, and the hardships occasioned by inclement weather and deep miry roads. Indeed one of the English writers attributes the retreat of

* Foed. Angl. III. 283.

A. D. 1310. Nov.

Edward from Scotland at this time, to the utter impossibility of procuring forage for the horses of his army *.

At this time there was a grievous famine in Scotland, insomuch that, "Owing to the ravages of war, so great was the scarcity and dearth of provisions, that the people in many places were constrained to feed on the flesh of horses, and other unclean animals †." The English writers likewise mention a great scarcity of provisions as having occurred in England this season ‡. Hence we may conclude that the inclemency of the weather had contributed, along with the ravages of war, to which alone it is attributed by Fordun, in producing the famine in Scotland. This severe calamity may be said to have acted as an auxiliary in the cause of the King of Scots, as it must have greatly retarded the operations of the English army, at a time when magazines and the other resources of modern warfare were in a great measure unknown.

It is highly probable that, in this campaign, the King of Scots had well-wishers in the hostile camp, who communicated intelligence of

* Hemingf. I. 248. † Ford. XII. xviii.

‡ Trivet, cont. 8.

the discontents which prevailed among the English nobility, more anxious to destroy the hated Gaveston than to assist in reducing Scotland under the authority of their own government, with which they were at this time greatly dissatisfied. It is certain, however, that many of the subjects of England had supplied the Scots with provisions, horses, and arms. And, having learned this circumstance after his return to England, Edward prohibited this treasonable practice by proclamation, under the highest penalties of the law *.

A. D. 1310. Nov.

Edward appears to have remained at Berwick after his return from Scotland, from 10th November 1310 to the 24th July 1311, a long inactive period of eight months †. At this time he seems to have been disinclined from putting himself in the power of his discontented nobles, and to have considered himself in greater security in a frontier garrison than at the seat of government. While at Berwick, he dispatched his favourite Gaveston into Scotland, at the head of an army or strong detachment, with the hope that he might acquire military reputation, by which

Dec.

* Foed. Angl. III. 233. † Id. ib. 234—274.

A. D. 1310. Dec.

the general odium of the English nation might possibly have been abated. Gaveston seems to have penetrated a considerable way into the country, and even to have crossed the Forth; but, meeting with no enemy in the field, or unable to force the Scots to an engagement, he returned to Berwick without having any opportunity to signalize himself*. While at Berwick, Edward transmitted letters to the Earl of Flanders, in which he complained that many of his Flemish subjects, and others their accomplices, were guilty of piratically intercepting the English ships which were employed in transporting provisions from the south of England for the supply of his army in Scotland †.

About this period, the King of Scots seems to have projected a winter invasion of the isle Man, where he had partizans who occasionally infested the coast of England. Edward, however, took measures for repressing these predatory expeditions, and for securing the island against invasion; and for this purpose he ordered the sheriffs of the western counties of England to afford every necessary assis-

* Malmsb. 105, 106. Hemingf. 247, 248.

† Foed. Angl. III. 230.

tance to Gilbert Mak-Asky, or Mackaskell, who was the stewart or governor of that island for the bishop of Durham *. A. D. 1310. Dec.

During the disputed succession to the throne of Scotland, Sir William Montacute, who is said to have been descended from the ancient kings of Man, expelled the Scots who had long occupied that island as a dependant province. Montacute mortgaged this island to Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, to whom Edward I. gave a grant of it for his life. At the present time, therefore, the bishop was in possession of Man, which he governed by means of a steward. On the death of the bishop, a short time afterwards, Edward bestowed the island on his favourite Gaveston; and after his death, a grant of the royal jurisdiction, and the whole demesne lands was given to Henry de Beaumont †.

At this distance of time the exact chronological series of events cannot always be ascertained; and the remaining authentic documents, owing to the want of dates, often constrain us to relate the incidents of the war in an apparently desultory and unconnected manner. The castle or peel of Linlithgow was

* Foed. Angl. III. 238. † Cambd. Brit. 1060.

A. D. 1310. Dec.

surprised about the present period, by the admirably contrived and gallantly executed stratagem of a neighbouring peasant, named Binny *. This event must necessarily have taken place after the return of Edward II. to Berwick from his inglorious expedition into Scotland, and perhaps in the succeeding year. Barbour only says, that it was after harvest; so that it may possibly have been in the end of October 1310. Without, therefore, being able to determine the precise date, the following distinct and probable account of the circumstances of this exploit are related from Barbour.

The tower of Linlithgow was of great utility to the English, as it lay mid-way between Edinburgh and Stirling, both then in their possession. Binny, one of those heroes who are called from obscurity by the incidents of war and revolution, considering the advantages which the enemies of his country derived from this fortress, and being intimately acquainted with the nature of its defences, contrived a plan for its surprisal, which would have done honour to an experienced warrior. He communicated this scheme to some of his neigh-

* The name is variously written, Bunnock, Binnock, or Binny, now called Binning.

bours whom he persuaded to join him in the enterprize, and which was successfully executed in the following manner under his guidance. Having been employed to lead hay into the fort, for the use of the horses belonging to the garrison, he placed a party of his armed friends in ambush as near as possible to the gate; and concealing eight armed men in his wain, or oxen cart, well covered with a pretended load of hay, he ordered a servant to drive the load to the fort, while he walked carelessly along side. When the wain was fairly in the gateway, so that neither the gates of the castle could be closed, nor the portcullis let down, the lad cut the *soam*, or withy-rope, by which the oxen were attached to the wain, which thus remained immoveable. The men who were concealed under the hay now leapt out, and those who were in ambush hastened to join Binny and the rest of his companions; and, having slain the garrison, they acquired possession of the place. Robert rewarded Binny for the gallant exploit, and ordered the castle to be demolished *. A. D. 1310.

* Barb. X. 137—255.

A. D. 1310. In dismantling Linlithgow tower, and such other fortresses as submitted to his arms, Robert is understood to have acted upon the following principles. He had observed that, by means of castles in well chosen situations, the English and the Scots in their interest, had long maintained their ground with very little assistance from the King of England; and not being in a condition to spare troops for garrisoning those castles, and perhaps unable to afford the necessary expence of their repairs and provisioning, he ordered them all to be destroyed or rendered defenceless, as fast as they fell into his hands *. It is likewise probable that he might consider the possession of castles by his nobles, when the country should come afterwards to be settled in peace, as conducive to render them independent of the crown.

A. D. 1311. Feb. In the month of February 1311, Edward dispatched letters to the Papal court, earnestly urging that Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, who had been lately released from confinement, and allowed to repair to the Pope, might not be permitted to return to his diocese in Scotland; alleging that he had always

* Ford. XII. x.

been a false traitor and determined enemy to the King of England, his liege lord, and to his spiritual father the Pope; and because his return to Scotland would prove particularly injurious to Edward at this time, in an expedition which he then projected into Scotland *. A. D. 1311. Feb.

About this time, accordingly, Edward prepared for a new expedition against the Scots, and issued orders to thirty-eight principal English barons, chiefly those of the northern shires of England, to assemble in arms with all their powers at Roxburgh by Lammas, for that purpose †. He likewise commanded the assemblage of a fleet from various parts of England, for the purpose of invading Argyle and the Western Isles, called Inchegall in the record, and John of Lorn was appointed to the chief command, in the evident expectation that he would be joined by his former vassals; and this part of the intended attempt on Scotland was probably suggested by Lorn ‡. But the English nobles, more intent upon the confirmation and settlement of their favourite 4 July.

* Foed. Angl. III. 241. † Id. III. 271.

‡ Id. ib. 265.

A. D. 1311. Aug. ordinances, by which the government was meant to be changed into an oligarchy, and anxious for the disgrace and banishment of Gaveston, disregarded the orders of array, and the invasion of Scotland was therefore necessarily delayed.

Having established his authority almost universally over Scotland, excepting the south and east parts of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, and a few fortresses that were still garrisoned by the English, and assuredly knowing the state of discontent and insubordination of the English nobles, Robert now resolved to retaliate by an invasion of England, for the many miseries which his unhappy country had suffered from the English. He accordingly assembled a considerable army, which he led into the bishopric of Durham, and laid waste the country with fire and sword, plundering it all around without mercy *. In a letter to the Pope, on occasion of
17 Oct. this invasion, Edward II. thus describes the ravages committed by the Scots army. " Robert and his accomplices, having invaded our realm of England, perpetrated the most horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and

* Ford. XII. xviii.

murders in the border counties of our king- A. D. 1311. 17 Oct.
dom, but more especially in the bishopric of Durham; not sparing the innocent youth or the female sex, and paying no respect, alas! even to the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty *." It is easy to understand why Edward should expatiate upon the injuries sustained by the church during this invasion; as he had all along used every effort to procure the aid of the Papal fulminations against the Scots, whom he wanted sufficient skill and courage to subdue.

On relating this event, after having said that he ravaged the country with that cruelty and licentiousness which disgrace the character of a brave man, Lord Hailes goes on to observe: "Yet it was not strange that, in a fierce age, one who had seen the ruin of his private fortunes, the captivity of his wife and only child, and the tortures and execution of his dearest relatives and tried friends, should have thus satisfied his revenge †." He might have added that, in the age of which we now treat, such was the universal practice of warfare; and therefore Robert is not to be rashly

* Foed. Angl. III. 283. † A. of S. II. 41.

A. D. 1311. Oct.

condemned for acting upon the same principles with his contemporaries. Even from the polished court of Louis XV. in the eighteenth century, orders were transmitted to the French general in Germany, on occasion of a retreat, to make a military desert in his rear. In giving an account of this inroad, which he says was a second time repeated in the same year, Fordun considers the matter in a very different light. "Thus," says he, "by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of Providence, the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, were in their turn subjected to punishment*."

Having thus taken a partial but severe revenge upon England for the numerous and violent injuries which his country had so long sustained, Robert led back his troops into Scotland loaded with spoil, elated with success, and full of confidence in their own valour, and in the skill and conduct of their magnanimous sovereign. There can be no doubt that this complete revolution of affairs, in which the Scots had become the aggressors, and had successfully invaded and ravaged England, must have had the most beneficial

* Ford. XII. xviii.

consequences upon the cause and reputation of Robert; in confirming the fidelity of his adherents, and in disposing those, who still wavered in their inclinations, to throw off their scandalous dependence upon the English government, unable to protect them in their paricidial conduct; and must have induced many to submit to the legitimate authority of their native sovereign, who now fully evinced his abilities to restore and protect the long oppressed liberties of their country.

A. D. 1311. Oct.

About this period, Robert is said to have acquired the almost impregnable fortress of Dunbarton from Sir John de Menteith, by negociation or compromise; of which transaction the following singular and incredible relation is given in an additament to some of the MS. copies of the Scotichronicon *. Yet it must be observed, that Sir John de Menteith had been very recently employed by the King of Scots, in negociations for peace or truce with England; which circumstance certainly tends to throw much doubt upon the story. In reward for surrendering this castle, Menteith demanded a grant of the earldom of

* Ford. XII. xviii.

A. D. 1311. Lenox; and the actual possessor of that earldom readily concurred in the proposal, for the honour and advantage of his beloved sovereign. Accordingly, letters patent were executed in favour of Menteith to that effect; mutual indentures confirmed upon oath were interchanged for the performance of the agreement on both sides, and a day appointed on which Menteith was to surrender the castle into the hands of the King. When on his way to Dunbarton, through the forest of Colquhoun, Robert was accosted by one Rolland, who informed him that Menteith had concealed a number of armed Englishmen in a secret part of the castle called the *Holl-Cellar* *, and recommended to have that place carefully searched before confiding his person to the power of Menteith.

Thus fully instructed, the king continued his journey, and was courteously welcomed by Menteith. Having received the keys of all the offices of the castle, the king was intreated to partake of a splendid entertainment; but he now demanded the key of the cellar indicated by Rolland. Menteith endeavour-

* Probably signifying the *how*, deep, or low cellar or vault.

ed to evade this demand, alleging that it contained fire-wood, and that Rolland, his carpenter, having it in charge, had carried the key with him into the forest. Robert went directly to the cellar, caused the door to be broken up, and the English party was found concealed. They, and their treacherous employer were immediately secured; and it was discovered that Menteith had engaged to deliver up Robert to the King of England, and that a vessel was shortly expected to arrive in the river Clyde to carry him away as a prisoner. On the detection of this plot, the earldom of Lenox was restored to its faithful owner, the carpenter was rewarded by a gift of the lands of Edelwood, and Menteith was committed to close custody.

A. D. 1311.

Menteith is said to have had several very beautiful daughters, who were married to some of the principal nobles of Scotland. Sometime before the battle of Bannockburn, three years after he had been imprisoned, Menteith persuaded his sons-in-law to apply for his liberation; and just before that great battle, Robert granted their request, conditioning that Menteith and they should all serve faithfully on that occasion in the vanguard against the English. This condition

A. D. 1311. was faithfully performed by them all; and Menteith acquired great fame for his prowess in that important battle, after which he was restored to his liberty and lands, and was taken into favour. Such is the story in the Scotichronicon, the particulars of which do not seem deserving of much credit, yet it would have been improper to have passed them over in silence.

A curious record occurs in the Foedera about the present period, dated 15th June 1310, respecting the pay of men then employed in war, and of some other allowances and expences which seem to merit notice. In comparing these with modern money, it must be noticed that the coin of these days contained three times the weight of standard silver with the same denominations of the pre-

sent age; and was probably as efficacious as fifteen times our modern money of account. Hence a pound sterling of the fourteenth century may be considered as equivalent in value to fifteen modern pounds, and a mark to ten pounds. This proportion was settled by some of our most eminent modern historians about the year 1770; since which the necessaries of life have greatly risen in price, or money has depreciated. Perhaps the proportion might be now assumed at twenty times the efficacy; but that of fifteen times only is assumed in the subsequent instances. A. D. 1311.

The daily pay of a man at arms was 10d., equivalent to 12s. and 6d; and probably included the expence of his horses and attendants. A cross-bow man was allowed 3d. equivalent to 3s. and 9d.; and an archer 2d. equal to half-a-crown. A cross bow cost 3s. and 8d. equal to L. 2. 15s: a banduk, perhaps a baudrick, or bandelier 18d. equal to L. 1. 2s. 6d: an hundred quarells, or short arrows for cross-bows, 18d. or L. 1. 2s. 6d. Sir William Moray of Sandford, a Scots prisoner in England, was allowed 4d. daily for his subsistence, equal to five shillings, and one pound yearly for his apparel, equal to fifteen pounds.

A. D. 1311. Fergus of Ardrossan, likewise a prisoner, was allowed 3d. equal to 3s. and 9d. for subsistence, with one mark yearly, equal to ten pounds, to supply him with wearing apparel *.

* Foed. Angl. III. 210.

CHAPTER X.

From the first Invasion of England by Robert I. in 1311; *to the Siege of Stirling Castle, by Edward Bruce, in* 1313.

SOON after his return from the invasion of the north of England, Robert again drew an army together, and laid siege to Perth; which was then a place of great strength, fortified by a high and strong stone wall, garnished with lofty stone towers, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, full of water. Insomuch, says Barbour, that while it might have a sufficient and vigilant garrison, and abundance of provisions and military stores, it could hardly have been reduced by open force *. A. D. 1311. 3 Dec.

According to Fordun †, the command of Perth was confided at this time to one Wil-

* Barbour, IX. 333—336. † Ford. XII. xviii.

A. D. 1311. Dec. liam Oliphant, or Olifant; perhaps the same person who so resolutely defended the castle of Stirling against Edward I. and who had been set at liberty by Edward II. 8th May 1308, on finding security for his fidelity to the English government *. Barbour, who calls this person Olifard, or Olisard, says that the Earl of Stratherne, and a person of the name of Moffat, were conjoined with him in the command of the garrison in Perth †. This earl had fought along with Robert, and was made prisoner in the unfortunate derout of Methven; and had been restored to liberty by Edward II. at the same time with Oliphant, and on similar conditions ‡. According to Barbour, the son of the Earl of Strathern, with a part of the vassals of the family, now served under the banners of Robert, and made his own father prisoner when Perth was taken by storm §. Both father and son bore the same name of Malise.

A. D. 1312. Having lain several weeks before the town, the garrison of which scornfully rejected the terms of surrender which had been offered to

8 Jan. them, and seeing no prospect of being able to

* Foed. Angl. III. 82. † Barb. IX. 337—340.

‡ Foed. Angl. III. 82. § Barb. IX. 341. and 433—435.

reduce it by main force, Robert had recourse to stratagem to effectuate his object. He raised the siege and marched to a considerable distance, as if resolving to desist from the enterprize. But, having learned that the ditch was fordable in one place of which he had taken accurate notice, and having provided scaling ladders of sufficient length, he returned, after an absence of eight days, marching under night, and approached the walls undiscovered by the garrison, who seem to have been entirely off their guard. Favoured by the darkness of the night he forded the ditch without being perceived, the water of which only reached to his throat, himself carrying one of the ladders. Robert is said to have been the first person who entered the ditch, and the second who mounted the walls after the ladders were applied. There chanced to be a French knight at this time serving along with the king; who, on seeing the resolution and gallantry with which he passed the ditch, expressed his admiration in strong terms; and, following the brave example, shared in the danger and glory of the enterprize. Barbour relates this incident in glowing language:

A. D. 1312. 1 Jan.

8 Jan.

A. D. 1312. 8 Jan.

"That tyme wes in hys cumpany
A knycht off Fraunce, wycht * and hardy †:
And quhen ‡ he in the watyr swa §
Saw the king pass, and with hym ta ||
Hys laddyr unabasytly ¶,
He saynyt hym ** for the ferly ††;
And said, A ‡‡ Lord! quhat sall we say
Off our Lordis off Fraunce, that ay
With gud §§ morsellis fayris |||| thair pawnch,
And will bot ¶¶ ete, and drynk, and dawnce,
Quhen *** sic ††† a knycht, and swa worthy,
As this throw hys gret chewalry
Into sic perill has hym set
To wyn a wretchyt hamylet."—‡‡‡

Animated by the presence and example of their heroic king and leader, the Scots scaled the walls, and the town was taken, plundered, and burnt. As the garrison made no resistance, Robert gave orders to spare the lives of all who laid down their arms; in this noble act of clemency he scorned to avail himself of the rigid letter of martial law. The commanders of the garrison were made pri-

* Strong. † Brave. ‡ When.
§ So, in such manner. || Take. ¶ Undauntedly.
** Crossed himself. †† Wonder. ‡‡ Ah!
§§ Good. |||| Stuff. ¶¶ Only.
*** When. ††† Such.
‡‡‡ Barb. IX. 390—503.

soners. Malise earl of Strathern is said to have been made captive by his own son; and being persuaded to renew his former allegiance, was taken into favour, and received back his estate *. Pursuant to his ordinary policy, Robert gave immediate orders to dismantle the fortifications, by throwing down the walls and filling up the ditch †.

A. D. 1312. 8 Jan.

Barbour seems to have considered the capture of Perth as having taken place before the discomfiture of the troops of Lorn at the pass of Cruachan-bean, and before the reduction of Galloway to obedience by Edward Bruce. Although that author is assuredly authentic, and was well informed respecting numerous incidents in the history of this reign, no where else to be met with; yet he has unfortunately taken very little pains to reduce the information which he had collected into regular order according to the series of events; far less to fix their exact chronological dates. For this important regulation, among many other valuable circumstances, the national history of Scotland has received the most essential

* Barbour, IX. 435.

† Id. ib. 451—455. Ford. XII. xviii.

A. D. 1312. services from the excellent labours of Lord Hailes.

26 Jan. Soon after the reduction of Perth, Edward made new advances to treat with the Scots for the establishment of a truce or cessation of arms; and for this purpose he gave ample powers to David earl of Athole, Alexander Abernethy, and Adam de Gordon, and three other negociators *. But this effort to procure even a temporary tranquillity between the two British nations was ineffectual. At this time a cessation of hostilities would have been alone serviceable to Edward, who was engaged in continual dissentions with his nobility, by which any effectual exertion of the military power of England was almost entirely precluded; it was therefore of very material importance for Robert, to employ the present favourable opportunity for reducing the strong places in Scotland which were still held for the English, and for consolidating his authority in the kingdom which had been recovered by his heroism. The circumstance of David earl of Athole having been employed at this time by Edward, in negociating for a truce, is a clear proof that Barbour had been

* Foed. Angl. III. 300.

misinformed as to the agency of that nobleman for procuring the submission of David de Brechin to Robert in 1308. A. D. 1312. 26 Jan.

At this period, unable from the civil dissentions in England to exert himself in the field for the reduction of Scotland, Edward endeavoured to preserve in his interest such of the Scots nobles as had hitherto favoured the English pretensions. With this view he now bestowed two manors in England, which had belonged to the Templars, on the Earl of Athole*. William Sinclair, or de St Clair, bishop elect of Dunkeld, having been the enemy of England, Edward had opposed his confirmation to that see: but, at the solicitation of Henry de St Clair, the bishops brother, who had always been faithful to the English interest in Scotland, he now wrote to the Pope in his favour †. 8 Feb.

In the course of this year, the King of Scots again invaded the north of England, ravaging and plundering the county of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham. In the course of this expedition, the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and a great part of the

* Foed. Angl. III. 303. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1312. city of Durham were laid in ashes. One of the English historians says, that on this occasion the King of Scots established his head-quarters at Chester (le Street?) from whence he detached Douglas with a great proportion of the army to lay waste the country, who penetrated to Hartlepool, carrying off much spoil, and many prisoners of both sexes *. On his return towards Scotland, he even made demonstrations for besieging Berwick, where Edward then resided under pretence of being at hand to repress the incursions of the Scots, which he was unable to effect; but, in reality, because he was in continual dread of the factious machinations of his own barons, and considered himself safer in a frontier garrison, exposed to be besieged by the Scots, than at the seat of his own government †.

After his return to Scotland, Robert assaulted and took the castles of Butel, Dumfries, and Dalswinton, and many other fortresses, all of which he dismantled and rendered defenceless ‡. In Fordun, the first of these castles is named Botha or Buthe; which, from its being named in connexion with

* Hemingf. I. 262.

† Foed. Angl. III. 313. Ford. XII. xix. ‡ Ford. ib.

Dumfries and Dalswinton, appears to have been Butel in Galloway, belonging to the Baliol family; and was probably the same to which the English leaders had escaped after their defeat by Edward Bruce in 1308, and which is called Bothwell in Barbour. In other passages of Fordun, the name of Bothe or Buthe is used for denoting a castle in the isle of Bute; but the context, on the present occasion, distinctly limits us to Galloway. A. D. 1312.

About this period, the civil dissentions in England, between Edward and his favourite Gaveston on the one hand, and the dissatisfied barons of the Lancastrian party on the other, broke out into actual civil war. The army of the confederated nobles, or Lords Ordainers, marched to York; whence Edward and Gaveston retired northwards to Newcastle. On the approach of the malcontents, they took shipping at Tinemouth, and landed at Scarborough. Leaving Gaveston in the castle of that place, then deemed impregnable, Edward returned to York, which remained faithful to his interest, where he ineffectually endeavoured to raise an army to oppose the insurgents, who had marched on to Newcastle. The Earls of Pembroke and Surry,

A. D. 1312. with Henry de Percy, besieged Gaveston in Scarborough castle; while Lancaster took a position between that place and York, to intercept all communication of succours between the king and his minion. 19 May. Finding Scarborough castle, though extremely strong, unprovided for a long siege, Gaveston capitulated on terms of personal safety. 17 June. But, regardless of the conditions, accorded by Pembroke, and taking advantage of a temporary absence of that nobleman, probably concerted, a party of the confederates headed by the Earl of Warwick, took Gaveston from Deddington castle to the castle of Warwick; where, without any form of trial, he was beheaded by the common executioner*.

1313. The castle of Roxburgh, a strong fortress of the utmost importance for facilitating the military operations of the English on the borders of Scotland, still remained in the power of Edward, who had committed it to the charge of Gillemin de Fiennes, a knight from Burgundy. Douglas, who then lurked in the forest of Jedburgh, concerted a plan for surprising the garrison of that important fortress,

* Fœd. Angl. III. 327, 328, 334. Walsing. 101. Malmsb. 120. De la More, 592, 593.

and fixed upon the night of Shrove Tuesday for the execution of his enterprize; at which time he expected that the garrison would be off its guard, enjoying themselves in the usual revels of that day; "when all the men, from dread of the Lent season, which was to begin next day, indulged in wine and licentiousness *." A. D. 1313.

Accordingly, having employed an ingenious person, named Syme, or Simon of the Leadhouse, to construct rope ladders for scaling the walls, he approached at the beginning of the night agreed upon, with sixty chosen men, who had their armour covered with black frocks, to prevent them from being descried by the centinels of the fortress. The assailants crawled up the steep bank on which Roxburgh castle is situated, on their hands and knees, until they reached the foot of the walls, when they applied their ladders; and all of them mounted undiscovered, except by one centinel, whom they immediately put to death before he was able to communicate any alarm to the garrison. Simon, the contriver of the ladders, is said to have been the first person 6 Mar

* Ford. XII. xix. Barb. X. 372. Boece, XIV. 301,

A. D. 1313. 6 Mar.

who mounted. After all the party had got up, Douglas hastened to the keep where the English garrison was singing, dancing, and making merry, and fortunately found the gate open. The Scots rushed into the hall among the unsuspecting revellers, calling out a Douglas, a Douglas, and put many of the English to death, who were unarmed, and altogether unprepared for resistance. Gillemin de Fiennes, the warden or governor, was able to retreat into the keep or great tower, with a few of the men, who defended themselves till next day; when the commander being mortally wounded, the small remnant of the garrison surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart into England. According to Barbour, Fiennes was one of those who surrendered, and went to England with the rest, but died soon afterwards *.

In conformity with the usual maxims of his policy, the King of Scots gave orders for the demolition of Roxburgh castle; and Simon, to whose ingenuity the success of this enterprize had been greatly owing, and who had gallantly assisted in its execution, was

* Ford. XII. xix. Leland. II. 546. Barb. X. 354—489.

rewarded for his services. In consequence of this successful enterprize, the whole of Teviotdale was reduced under obedience, excepting Jedburgh, and those parts of the borders which were closely adjoining to England *. A. D. 1313. Mar.

It has been already mentioned, that Douglas disguised himself and his party with black frocks over their armour. While in this guise, the Scots were crawling up the steep bank on the outside of the walls of Roxburgh castle, Barbour says that they were noticed by one of the soldiers on the top of the wall, who mistook them for cows or oxen, and said to his comrade, in the hearing of the Scots, that he supposed a certain neighbouring husbandman, or farmer, was making good chear, and had left all his oxen out, unheeding that they might fall a prey to the Douglas. Douglas heard the purport of this conference; and waited till the retiring sound of their conversation satisfied him that the two English soldiers had left the wall. He then made haste to apply his ladders; when the noise made by the iron crochets or hooks, in fastening them upon the crib-stone, or top of the wall, alarmed the nearest centinel, who immediately hasten-

* Barb. X. 495—505.

A. D. 1313. Mar.

ed to the spot, but without communicating any alarm, Simon, the only person who had then mounted, immediately stabbed the centinel, and threw him over the wall, calling upon the assailants to hasten up, as all was quiet *.

Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, having been reconciled to the king his uncle, was created Earl of Murray, and proved ever afterwards eminently faithful, and highly serviceable to Robert and to Scotland. According to Barbour, " He was a comely person, of good stature, and broad visage, with a fair and pleasant countenance; the friend of brave men, loyal, just, munificent, courteous, jovial, social, and amorous, and altogether made up of virtues. The portrait of this great and good man, as designed by a grave ecclesiastic, is singular in its style, yet appears to have been drawn from the life; and though rude and antiquated, is spirited and glowing:

" He wes of mesurabil statur,
And weile porturat * at mesur;
With braid wesage † plesand and fayr,
Curtais at poynt, and debonayr,

* Barb. X. 375—422.

† Pourtrayed, carried. ‡ Visage.

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And off rycht sekyr * contenyng.
Lawte † he lowyt ‡ atour § all thyng:
Falset ||, tresoun, and felony ¶,
He stud agayne ay entrely **.
He heyit †† honour ay, and larges ‡‡,
And ay mantenyt rychtwysness.
In cumpany solacious §§
He wes, and tharwith amorous;
And gud knychtis he luffyt |||| ay.
And, giff I the suth ¶¶ sall say,
He was fulfilyt off bounte ***,
Als of wertuys††† all maid wes he."—‡‡‡

In another passage, Barbour thus speaks farther of the character of Randolph:

" And he to sa gret worschip * dreuch †,
That all spak off hys gret bounte.
His fayis ‡ gretly stonayit § he;
For he fled nevir for force off fycht.
Quhat sal I mar say off hys mycht?
Hys gret manheid, and hys bounte
Gerrs || hym yeit renownyt be."—¶

* Firm conduct † Loyalty. ‡ Praised.
§ Beyond. || Falsehood. ¶ Cruelty.
** Intirely. †† Practised. ‡‡ Liberality.
§§ Cheerful. |||| Loved. ¶¶ Truth.
*** Goodness. ††† Virtues.
‡‡‡ Barbour, X. 280—295.

* Praise. † Attained. ‡ Foes.
§ Astonished, confounded. || Causes.
¶ Barbour, X. 781—787.

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After having established his authority in the earldom of Moray, which had been conferred upon him by the king his uncle, Randolph assembled the military vassals of his earldom, and marched into the Lothians. Edinburgh castle was at that time strongly fortified, and well stored with men and provisions, under the command of a Gascon knight, whom Barbour names Sir Perys Lombart. Leland the antiquary gives this person the name of Peter de Leland, viscount or sheriff of Edinburgh; adding, that having joined the Scots party, he was afterwards executed under suspicion of treason. If this be the same person with the governor of Edinburgh castle, his name appears to have been Peter Luband; as there still exist grants of the lands of Gamelton and Elwynston, which are described as having belonged to Sir Peter Luband, lately convicted of treason against the royal dignity *; and of the lands of Cockburn, which Patrick Luband had forfeited, to James Lord Douglas. Having learned the successful issue of the enterprize of Douglas upon Roxburgh castle, Randolph

* Barbour, X. 324 and 761. Leland, Col. II. 546. A. of S. II. 45. Rotul. Rob. I. No. 63, 64.

was exceedingly desirous of signalizing the commencement of his new career by the reduction of Edinburgh castle, which he besieged or blockaded *. The English garrison, suspecting the fidelity of their foreign commander, put him into a dungeon in the castle, and elected a constable from among themselves to take the command †.

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Finding that the castle could not be reduced by open force, and that the blockade must be unavailing so long as the garrison had a sufficiency of provisions, Randolph anxiously endeavoured to devise some stratagem by which his enterprize might be accomplished. One William Frank, or Francus, whose father appears to have been formerly constable of the castle, presented himself to Randolph, and offered to conduct him to the foot of the wall, at a place where it was only twelve feet high, and might be easily scaled. In his youth, Frank had resided in the castle as one of the garrison; and having an intrigue with a woman in the city, he had been in use to descend the wall in the night, by means of a rope-ladder, and to gain the foot of the rock by a steep and intricate path, amidst frightful pre-

* Barb. X. 506—521. † Id. ib. 325—335.

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cipices; and, after visiting his mistress, he always returned before day by the same road. As this path had become perfectly familiar to him, and he still retained a perfect remembrance of all its windings, he confidently engaged to guide Randolph and a select party by the same way.

14 Mar. Accordingly, having provided a rope-ladder of a convenient length, Randolph chose thirty of his bravest men; and, taking advantage of a dark night, stole softly to the foot of the rock, under the guidance of Frank. Having clambered with great difficulty and exertion about half way up the rock, they stopped some time to rest themselves on a shelf or broad projection. While there, they heard the round, or check-watch, examining the alertness of the centinels, and stopping at that part of the wall which was directly over the place where they lay. At this critical period, one of the watch, standing on the top of the wall directly above the Scots party, threw down a stone, and called out, "*Away! I see you well.*" When this experiment was found to have no effect, as the Scots lay quite still, the round passed on conversing together in the hearing of Randolph and his men, who

continued to listen in perfect silence, till the guard had gone to a considerable distance; after which they clambered up the remaining part of the rock to the foot of the wall, to which they affixed their ladder. Frank was the first who mounted the ladder; Sir Andrew Gray was next; and Randolph was the third, followed by the rest of the party. Before the whole had reached the top of the wall, the alarm was given, and the assailants were attacked by the watch, whom they beat off.

A. D. 1313. 14 Mar.

When the whole party had got up, and was formed in proper order, Moray hastened towards the keep, or principal fortress, within the outer walls of the castle. The whole garrison being now alarmed, ran to arms, and sallied from the keep to endeavour to repel the assailants. A fierce encounter took place, in which the constable was slain; on which the garrison threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves to mercy. As he had uniformly done with all the castles which had been recovered from the English, Robert ordered the castle of Edinburgh to be demolished. Lombard, Leland, or Luband, the former governor, being released from his confine-

A. D. 1313. 14 Mar. ment by the victors, entered into the Scots service *.

In his reflexions upon this brilliant atchievement, Barbour alleges that "a more gallant exploit was never performed in the taking of any fortress, in any age or region; saving only at the capture of *Treile*, when Alexander leapt from the top of the wall alone among a crowd of foes, and courageously defended himself, until rescued by Aristæus and his noble chivalry, who assailed the wall with ladders, sparing no danger till they reached the king, who, almost felled to the ground, hardly defended himself from death on his knees †." He adds a strange prophecy of St Margaret, the consort of Malcolm Ceanmore, foretelling the capture of Edinburgh castle, through the ministration of Frank; having caused pourtray a castle with a ladder applied to the wall, and a man climbing up, with this inscription in French, *Gardys vouys de Fransais*. And says, that this picture remained, to his time, in the chapel of St Margaret ‡.

* Barb. X. 506—772. Ford. XII. xix. Leland, Col. II. 546.

† Barbour, X. 703—735. ‡ Id. ib. 736—749.

For this important service, probably, William Francis or Franceis, received a grant of the lands of Sprouston in the sheriffdom of Roxburgh, which had fallen to the crown by the forfeiture of William Riot, Henry Drawer, Thomas Alcoats, John, Thomas, and William Fitz-Alan, and others *. A. D. 1313. 24 Mar.

The number of Bruces adherents increased with his successes. Even David earl of Athol, who had long steadily adhered to the English faction, and had very recently obtained a grant of lands in England in reward of his fidelity, now revolted and joined the party of his lawful sovereign. 23 April. The lands which he had obtained from Edward were consequently resumed †. Yet that weak prince, continually dealing in expedients, endeavoured to confirm Alexander Abernethy in his interest by a similar grant, on the very day when that to Athol was resumed ‡. The success of the Scots, in recovering the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh, alarmed Edward for the safety of Berwick. On this account he now issued orders to Edmund de Hastings

* Ind. of Missing Charters, p. 12. No. 56. and p. 15. No. 20.

† Foed. Angl. III. 404. ‡ Id. ib.

A. D. 1313. 23 April. governor of Berwick, and constable of the castle, directing him to deliver up Isobel countess of Buchan, who had remained there in singularly strict custody, as formerly mentioned, ever since 1306, to Henry de Beaumont, who was appointed to keep her for the future *.

17 May. Conferences for the establishment of a truce between England and Scotland were again renewed, through the mediation of the King of France, but unsuccessfully †. These pacific overtures, however, did not retard the military enterprizes of the King of Scots, who invaded Cumberland at this time, and laid the country waste to a great extent. 23 May. When applied to for succour by the Cumbrians, Edward, who was then on the point of embarking for France, extolled their fidelity, and exhorted them to defend themselves till his return ‡.

During this invasion of Cumberland, the Scots are said to have ineffectually besieged Carlisle, and to have lost a considerable number of men in endeavouring to storm this place §.

* Fœd. Angl. III. 401.
† Id. ib. 411.
‡ Id. ib. 416.
§ Hemingf. I. 262.

In the annals of Ireland appended to the Britannia of Cambden, the King of Scots is said to have sent several gallies manned with freebooters to pillage Ulster; where the people made a brave resistance, and drove off the invaders. It is even reported, that Robert himself landed along with them, with the permission of the Earl of Ulster, in order to enter into a treaty of truce. A. D. 1313. 23 May.

The invasion of Cumberland appears to have been principally intended as a feint, to cover the naval preparations which Robert had directed for the purpose of making a descent upon the Isle of Man. He accordingly embarked a sufficient force, probably from one of the havens in Galloway, with which he landed on the island, overthrew the governor, took the castle of Ruffin, and subdued the country. In the Chronicle of the Isle of Man, subjoined to the Britannia of Cambden, the Manx governor on this occasion is named Dingaway Dowill. In the Annals of Ireland, appended to the same publication, he is called the Lord Donegan Odowill: so that he appears to have been the same Duncan Macdowal who defeated and made prisoners of the two brothers of the King of Scots 11 June.

A. D. 1313. in Galloway in the year 1306, as formerly related *.

11 June. On his return from France to England, Edward found that many of his nobles had refused to give their attendance in a parliament, which he had summoned to concert measures for repressing the continued successes of the Scots. Thus disappointed in the hope of procuring supplies by constitutional means, he endeavoured to prevail on the clergy to lend him money, to enable him to raise troops to send into Scotland. He likewise made a fresh effort to procure a meeting of parliament; but, instead of obeying his writs of summons, the Earl of Lancaster and the other discontented lords of that party, appointed a muster of their forces, under the pretext of holding a tournament. By repeated proclamations, Edward prohibited that seditious assemblage: yet, in contempt of the royal authority, Lancaster and his associates persisted in holding their intended tournament, and refused to give their attendance in parliament, or their concurrence to any measures for opposing the King of Scots †.

* A. of S. II. 46. Chron. Man. ap Britann. 1057. An. of Irel. ad. An. 1313. Ford. XII. xix.

† Foed. Angl. III. 422, 428, 433.

Our excellent national annalist declined entering into a consideration of the causes of this obstinate opposition to the measures of Edward, and utter disregard of the English honour and interests, by the leading nobles; because leading to lengthened discussion, which he considered as foreign to the subject of Scots history *. But it has appeared requisite, in this work, to explain shortly those incidents in the history of England which, by reducing the power of government to a state of extreme weakness and inefficiency, enabled the gallant Robert to restore the independence of Scotland. Accordingly, on a former occasion, some account has been given of the factious proceedings of the malcontent English nobles, on the subject of the kings excessive fondness, profuse liberality, and almost total abandonment of government to Gaveston; and the tragical end of that unworthy minister has been mentioned. But the jealousies and discontents which had been excited against Edward still subsisted among the barons, who were in continual fear lest the king might take occasion to revenge the fate of his fa- A. D. 1313. June.

* A. of S. II. 46.

A. D. 1313. June. vourite, and their long and obstinate opposition to the measures of his government. Besides, such was the weak, shifting, and trifling policy of this infatuated monarch, that almost every act of his administration was either altogether inadequate or excessively ill-timed. Though abundantly proud and ambitious, he was utterly destitute of wisdom to concert judicious measures for recovering the full exercise of his constitutional prerogatives, or for reducing the Scots under his authority, and possessed no energy of character for enabling him to bring those plans which were devised for these purposes to a successful issue.

Mean while the military enterprizes of the Scots continued to prosper. Edward Bruce, having expelled the English from Galloway and Nithsdale, reduced the whole of these districts to obedience, and destroyed all the castles and fortresses, pursuant to the regular policy of his royal brother. He then took and destroyed the castle of Rutherglen, or Ruglen, and acquired possession of Dundee *. He next proceeded to besiege the castle of Stirling; which he continued from *Lentryne*, or the spring season, to St John's mass †.

* Barb. X. 788—802. † Id. ib. 815.

Lent began that year on the 28th February; and, if the feast of St John the Baptist be meant by Barbour, it may be concluded that the siege continued till the 24th of June*. Unable to make any impression on this strong fortress by any of the means of attack then known, Edward Bruce consented to a treaty with Sir Philip Mowbray who commanded the garrison, to raise the siege or blockade under an engagement that the castle should be surrendered by the ensuing midsummer, if not previously relieved by the English†. A. D. 1313. 24 June.

It would appear that this agreement had been entered into by Edward Bruce, without consulting the king his brother. Yet Robert consented to ratify the agreement, although much displeased with Edward for having granted so long a time, by which the King of England would be enabled to assemble the whole military force of his dominions, to the great jeopardy of the Scots, who would be bound in honour to give him battle with great disparity of numbers. By this treaty, besides a whole year allowed to the English for preparing an army, while the progress of the

* A. of S. II. 47. † Barb. X. 819—825.

A. D. 1313. June.

Scots arms were necessarily interrupted, Robert was reduced to the alternative of either abandoning the very desirable acquisition of Stirling castle, by which the reputation of his government would be compromised and dishonoured, or of hazarding the fortunes of his crown and kingdom on the uncertain issue of a battle. He assented, however, to the treaty, and determined to meet the English army at the time appointed, if the King of England were disposed to risk a battle for the relief of the place *.

Although not mentioned in any historian, the castle of Stirling seems to have been held under a kind of blockade, accompanied by a mutual armistice. Barbour says, that the governor, Mowbray, was permitted to proceed to England, that he might give an account to Edward of the agreement which he had entered into with the Scots †. If so, he must have been provided with a safe conduct for his journey and return; as we find him still possessed of the command of Stirling castle next summer, after the great battle of Bannockburn. In the treaty, likewise, it is probable that some stipulation was made for per-

* Barbour, XI. 31—77. † Id. ib. 1—6.

mitting the garrison to purchase provisions; as Barbour expressly says, that these had begun to fail in the garrison, previously to the agreement with Edward Bruce*. A. D. 1313. June.

Whether from actual stipulations in the conditional treaty of surrender between Edward Bruce and Sir Philip Mowbray, ratified by both kings, or if a truce or suspension of arms were concluded subsequently between the Scots and English governments, does not appear: But, from the period of that agreement until the great battle which took place in the ensuing summer, military operations seem to have been suspended on both sides; and we find no incidents recorded by the historians of the times, except the immense preparations which were made by both nations for the approaching contest, on which the fate of Scotland was to depend. During this interval, we may be assured that Robert employed every possible means of confirming the confidence and fidelity of his adherents, of providing armour and weapons of all kinds for his army, and of securing as large a force as could be mustered from those parts of the

* Barb. X. 817.

A. D. 1313. June. kingdom which had submitted to his authority. Indeed, at this period, the whole of Scotland seems to have been reduced to his obedience, except East Lothian, and the eastern parts of Berwickshire.

Nov. About this period, a remonstrance appears to have been transmitted to Edward, through Patrick earl of March and Adam o Gordon, from his remaining Scots adherents, complaining of the hardships they underwent through the unopposed career of Bruce, and requiring aid; they seem likewise to have alleged, that they suffered various grievances from the conduct of the ministerial officers who acted under the authority of Edward, in that part of Scotland which had not yet submitted to the government of the King of Scots. This remnant appears to have been confined to the eastern coast between Dunbar and Berwick, together with the Merse, or lowlands of Berwickshire. 28 Nov. In answer to this remonstrance, Edward issued a proclamation to all his beloved and faithful subjects in Scotland who remained in his peace, requiring them to continue in their loyalty; engaging to lead an army, by the 24th of next June, against his enemies and rebels

in Scotland, sufficient to restore perpetual peace; and promising, on his arrival, to take their complaints into serious consideration, and to give ample redress of all their wrongs*. A. D. 1313. 28 Nov.

* Foed. Angl. III. 458.

CHAPTER XI.

From the Siege of Stirling Castle, by Edward Bruce, in 1313; *to the Battle of Bannockburn, 24th June* 1314.

A. D. 1314. An apparent reconciliation having taken place between Edward and the Lancastrian party, measures were now concerted for improving the advantage of this cessation from political dissention in England to prosecute the Scots war with effect*. Immense preparations were accordingly made for an expedition into Scotland, to relieve the castle of Stirling in the first place, and with the sanguine hope of reconquering the whole kingdom. Had the numerous and well appointed forces, which were employed on this occasion, been conducted with skill, they were certain-

* Malmsb. 141.

ly sufficient to have easily over-run the whole country. So vast, says Barbour, was the army which was now collected, that nothing nearly so numerous had ever before been arrayed by England, and no force that Scotland could produce might possibly have been able to withstand it in the open field *. A. D. 1314.

Besides the whole power of the English barons, who were summoned to assemble in arms at Berwick on the 11th June, Edward commanded the attendance of a large body of infantry from the various counties and towns of England and Wales, to rendezvous at Werk in that neighbourhood †. He likewise summoned the English subjects of the pale in Ireland to attend his standard on this occasion; and invited Eth O'Connor, chief of the native Irish in Connaught, with twenty-six other Irish chieftains, to bring over their followers to his assistance; and appointed the Earl of Ulster to the chief command of both these bodies ‡.

Barbour alleges that he collected the whole chivalry of England who were fit for war, leaving none behind who could carry arms;

* Barb. XII. 15. † Foed. Angl. III. 463, 481, 482.
‡ Foed. Angl. III. 463, 478.

A. D. 1314. a considerable number from Wales and Ireland, and many brave Scotsmen who still continued to hold their lands and possessions from him; and, besides all these, that he assembled many gallant warriors from distant countries: In particular, that the Earl of Hainault brought over a considerable body of men at arms from Gascony, Germany, and Britanny; and that many came to his assistance from Poictou, Provence, and Languedoc, which he names Pontyne, Aquitaine, and Bayone*. Edward may have had some troops in his army from his possessions in the south of France; and a few foreign knights may have volunteered their services on the present occasion: But there are no authentic documents in proof of any considerable body of foreign auxiliaries having been employed in this expedition; and Barbour has certainly committed an anachronism in supposing that John of Hainault, who afterwards attended Edward III. in the first of his wars, was present upon this occasion.

Barbour asserts that the whole of the English army exceeded an hundred thousand men. Of these he alleges that 40,000 were cavalry,

* Barbour, XI. 83—102.

armed both head and hand, or completely provided with defensive armour and weapons of offence; and that three thousand of these, besides being themselves armed, had their horses covered with plates of mail, and were intended for being placed in the front of battle. He adds that there were likewise 52,000 archers; not to mention the retainers of the army, who had the care of the armour, weapons, baggage, and provisions. In this enumeration, however, he only particularizes 92,000 combatants; although he set out with asserting that the army consisted of more than a hundred thousand fighting men *, and particularly describes the order of march as distributed into ten divisions, consisting of full ten thousand men each †. A. D. 1314.

A modern historian of great celebrity was disposed to consider the number of 100,000 men, attributed to the army of Edward by the Scots writers, as greatly exaggerated. He alleges that Rymer gives a list of *all* the infantry which was assembled from *all parts* of England and Wales, which only amounted to 21,540 men ‡. It has been very justly re-

* Barb. XI. 103—112. † Id. ib. 154—156.
‡ Hume's Engl. II. 135.

A. D. 1314. marked by our excellent annalist, "That Hume had very widely mistaken the sense of the records which he had consulted on this occasion: as, instead of *all* the infantry from *all* parts of England and Wales, the Fœdera only contains the orders which were issued to the sheriffs of *eleven* of the counties, to *two* of the earls, and to *six* or *seven* of the barons of England; specifying the quotas of infantry which they were to furnish for the army; and these quotas are clearly specified as due from their lands in Wales, not from their English estates. The counties mentioned are Cheshire, Derbyshire, Durham, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire. The two Earls were those of Gloucester and Hertford, and of Hereford and Essex; through whom four other counties might be supposed included; but their writs respected the particular estates belonging to them individually in the Welsh counties of Glamorgan and Brecnock, and do not in the least refer to the English counties under their administration. From an attentive consideration of the various writs of array in the Fœdera, it is obvious that the summonses to the barons were for the feudal power of

cavalry, excepting in so far as their Welsh estates were concerned; and those to the sheriffs exclusively for infantry; which last were entitled to wages or pay. A. D. 1314.

The writs published by Rymer do not relate to the southern and western counties of England; and it is not probable that Edward should have invited the Anglo-Irish barons and Irish chiefs, and yet have neglected to require the assistance of the most populous parts of his dominions of England. If we take into account the Irish and the French subjects of the King of England, and if we suppose that all the counties and all the barons of England furnished their quotas in equal proportion with those enumerated in the Fœdera, we shall have no difficulty in pronouncing, that the numbers of the English army, as related by our historians, are within the bounds of probability. Edward himself says, that he had summoned to the rendezvous *totum servitium suum*; all who owed him military service *." It is to be noticed, however, that the powerful Earls of Lancaster, Warrene or Surry, Warwick, and Arundel,

* A. of S. II. 48.

A. D. 1314. had declined obedience to the summons of array, under pretence that Edward had failed to perform certain stipulations which he had promised: And Thomas de Brotherton earl of Norfolk was excused from attending. Besides the nobility, the whole of the clergy, even widows and other women who held by military service or sergeantry, were expressly summoned to attend with all their military force, well provided with horses and arms.

The writ to the sheriff of Yorkshire, besides serving as a specimen of the stile used at the time, is subjoined as a curious record of the sentiments of Edward respecting the war with Scotland, the causes of the great expedition which he was preparing, and the species of opposition which he expected to meet with from the Scots.

"The king to the sheriff of Yorkshire wisheth health. As, for the expedition in our Scots war, we have chosen four thousand men from your county, whom we have ordered to attend us into Scotland on the day already mentioned; and, as we now learn that the Scots, our enemies and rebels, are using their utmost efforts to collect a great multitude of infantry, in strong and marshy places where access is difficult for cavalry; that placing themselves

between us and our castle of Stirling, they may thereby oppose the rescue of our said castle with all their power; which rescue must be made upon the next ensuing festival of the nativity of St John the Baptist, according to the agreement entered into between the constable of our said castle and our said enemies; and which rescue, with the blessing of divine aid, we propose then to accomplish, *" &c. A. D. 1314.

The orders to the Sheriffs and others having authority in the several counties of England and Wales, were extremely peremptory; and they were commanded to urge, hasten, and compel the several required quotas, under the highest penalties, to march in a state of sufficient preparation, and fitly armed, so as to join the royal army at Wark by the 10th of June†.

The account given of the numbers of the English army in the Scotichronicon, are too ridiculous, almost, for insertion. Edward in one passage is said to have collected a vast army of horse and foot, with many cross-bow men and archers, from all parts of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ger-

* Foed. Angl. III. 481. † Id. ib.

A. D. 1314. many; from Wales and Ireland; Flanders and Gascony, the Boulonnais and Cornwal*, Gueldres and Bohemia, Holland, Zealand, and Brabant; gathering every kind of mercenary force from every surrounding country, insomuch that his army contained 300,000 armed cavalry, besides an innumerable multitude of infantry, servants and common people of both sexes †. In another passage, the English army is still farther exaggerated to 340,000 horse, and an almost equal number of foot. A most absurd parallel is drawn of David numbering the people of Israel; and the fatal issue of this expedition is referred to a similar cause, in Edward offending God, by his ostentatious pride in numbering his army ‡.

Besides these great preparations for collecting a numerous land army, a considerable number of ships were ordered to be assembled for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for transporting provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army §. The command of this naval armament was confided to John Sturmy and Peter Bard jointly ||. The number of ships

* Perhaps Britanny is here meant. † Ford. XII. xix.
‡ Ford. XII. xx. § Foed. Angl. III. 463.
|| Foed. Angl. III. 475.

is not specified, but the cinque ports and their members are summoned to send all their due service: This may be called the naval militia of England*. A. D. 1314. June.

On his side, likewise, the King of Scots used every effort in his power to provide adequately for the approaching important contest, and for gallantly defending the honour and independence of the crown and kingdom which his persevering bravery had atchieved. He summoned all who held of him to repair, with all their followers able to carry arms, to the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling, which he appointed as the place of rendezvous, and where he seems to have first intended that the ensuing battle should be fought. The number of fighting men who assembled in consequence of this summons, is said to have somewhat exceeded thirty thousand; besides near twenty thousand unarmed and undisciplined followers of the camp and servants †.

The principal leaders in the Scots army were, Edward Bruce, Walter the Stewart of

* Foed. Angl. III. 478.

† Barbour, XI. 212—239 and 420—425.

A. D. 1314. June. Scotland, James Lord Douglas, and the Earl of Moray; besides many other brave barons and knights not enumerated. Having reviewed his troops, the King of Scots was much satisfied with their countenance and appearance. He welcomed all courteously, and spoke cheerfully and in an encouraging manner to every one; urging them to act manfully in the approaching battle, in defending the lives, fortunes, and liberties of themselves, their families, and their country, and in protecting the honour of his crown*. In a council of war, instead of the Torwood, which appeared liable to be turned by the English army, it was determined to await the arrival of the enemy in a field near Stirling, to which Barbour gives the name of the *New Park*. As Robert chiefly apprehended the encounter of the numerous and formidable English cavalry, this place was preferred, because encumbered with trees, which would much impede the free movements of horse, and because it was protected by a morass, the passage of which would be difficult and dangerous to the enemy†.

* Barb. XI. 240—263. † Id. ib. 284—301

In this carefully and judiciously chosen field of battle, it was determined to place the extremity of the right wing upon the steep and wooded banks of the rivulet of Bannockburn; the front being extended to the neighbourhood of St Ninians, where the left wing was posted apparently without any protection from the nature of the ground, but retired from the direct approach of the enemy. The whole front seems to have been extended nearly in the line which is now occupied by the road from Stirling to Kilsyth *. To strengthen some parts of this position, where the ground was plain and even, Robert caused a great number of pits to be dug about knee deep and a foot over, and so numerous aud close together, that the field resembled a honey-comb: These were covered with brush-wood, over which the green sod was so replaced as to conceal the pits †. Buchanan must have greatly mistaken the account of this contrivance, as given by Barbour, as he describes them as very deep pits, with sharp stakes fixed in each, and covered over with green sod, having the ground between sprinkled with iron cal-

A. D. 1314. June.

* A. of S. II. 50. † Barbour, XI. 360—373.

A. D. 1314. June.

throps *. But Barbour clearly describes the honey-comb pits, as intended to make the horses stumble and fall; and makes no mention either of sharp stakes or iron calthrops. It may be noticed, however, in justification of Buchanan, that the calthrops and the sharp stakes are strongly indicated in the Latin poem of Barton the Carmelite, written immediately after the battle of Bannockburn:

> "Mucro latet, nill posse patet, pro marte valere.
> Sors praeterit quibus omen erit supplendo replere.
> Machina plena malis pedibus formatur equinis,
> Concava cum palis, ne pergant absque ruinis †.

We are likewise assured that some iron calthrops, or pointed pieces of iron, have been recently dug up from Milton bog, in the close neighbourhood of the field of battle ‡.

In the foregoing disposition of the Scots forces, the left wing seems to have been as it were hung in the air, having its flank altogether unsupported, and even exposed to attack from the garrison in Stirling castle. But the inconsiderable number of soldiers in that

* Buch. Hist. Scot. VIII. 145.
† Ford. XII. xxii. 53—56.
‡ Stat. Ac. of Scotl. XVIII. 409.

place, could not have given much annoyance; and, though no where mentioned, the inhabitants of the town of Stirling may have been directed to keep the garrison of the castle in awe during the battle. It may likewise be supposed that, as Mowbray had entered into a truce, he would have been deemed a false knight if he had assailed the Scots before the fate of his garrison was determined by the appointed battle. In those days the point of honour seems to have been the only certain tie among men; as the frequent dispensations, and the facility of receiving absolutions, had entirely effaced the reverence of oaths *. We may, however, rest assured that, on the present occasion, Robert would rely more on his own vigilant precautions, than upon any security which the agreement with Mowbray could have afforded.

A. D. 1314. June.

Having assembled his army, Edward was so confident of a successful issue to his great expedition, that he counted upon nothing less than making an entire conquest of Scotland; and, in that fond hope, is said to have made a very liberal distribution of its lands and honours among his followers †. In his triumph-

* A. of S. II. 50. † Barb. XI. 140—148.

A. D. 1314. June.

ant and unopposed progress from Berwick towards Stirling, he is said to have marshalled his army for the march into ten equal divisions of full ten thousand men in each *. The English host is described as having been so numerous as to cover the whole country far and wide, and as forming a glorious spectacle of martial pomp and splendour; thus glowingly described in the antiquated language of Barbour:

> " The son wes brycht and schenand cler †,
> And armouris that burnysyt wer,
> Sa blomyt ‡ with the sonnys beme §,
> That all the land wes in a leme ||
> Baneris rycht fayrly flawinand ¶,
> And penseles** to the wynd wawand ††.—‡‡

At this period we are deserted by the steady, historical, and chronological direction of the Foedera. From the 10th May, when orders were issued for the prayers of the church for the success of Edward in the Scots war, till the 27th June, no writ occurs that throws any light whatever on the incidents of the war §§.

* Barbour. XI. 154—159.

† Shining clear. ‡ Gleamed. § Sun beams.

|| Flame of fire. ¶ Flowing.

** Penons, or small banners. †† Waving.

‡‡ Barb. XI. 188—193.

§§ Foed. Angl. III. 479—483.

Vast multitudes of carriages of all kinds attended the progress of the English army, stored with every article of necessity, convenience, and luxury. Among these Barbour particularizes an hundred and sixty carts loaded with poultry *. Shot is mentioned among the articles conveyed along with the English baggage †. This may have been stone or metal bullets, for the calapultae or balistae, then called *espringolds* or cranes, a species of projectile machines employed in sieges. According to an ancient English historian, the multitude of carriages was so great that, if extended in one line, they would have occupied sixty leagues or miles in length. And the same author asserts that so great an army, and so well appointed in all things, had never marched from England ‡.

A. D. 1314. June.

On the 22d of June, intelligence was brought to the Scots camp of the approach of the English army. Having previously resolved to give battle on foot, Robert marshalled his army in the manner previously agreed upon. The front line, filling the space already mentioned, was composed of three distinct bodies or divisions: The right wing, centre, and left

22 June.

* Barb. XI. 120. † Id. ib. 119.

‡ Malmsb. 147.

A. D. 1314. 22 June. wing. Of these, he placed the right wing under the command of his brother Edward; the centre, or van-guard, was commanded by Randolph; and the left wing was confided to the joint command of Douglas and the young high Stewart. The second line or reserve, consisting of his own vassals of Carrick, together with the men of Cantire, Argyle, and the Isles, with a considerable body of lowlanders, was placed directly behind the van, or centre division, commanded by Moray. Here the king chose his own station; as from thence he could observe what passed in the three divisions of the front line, and might be able to direct the conveyance of succour to wherever it might be required *.

The left wing and centre, or the divisions commanded by Douglas and Moray, are said to have each consisted of seven thousand borderers, who are characterised as provident and skilful warriors, experienced and inured to discipline, and of three thousand Irish-Scots or highlanders, vulgarly called Katerans or Red-shanks, a fierce and disorderly race of men †. The number and description of force in the right wing, under Edward Bruce, is no

* Barb. XI. 302—347. † Holingsh. Hist. of Scotl.

where particularized; but it would probably not fall short of that in either of the other two; and if the reserve were equally numerous, the whole Scots army might extend to about forty thousand men. A. D. 1314. 22 June.

The foregoing account of the distribution of the Scots army, and the particular station of its several commanders, is the distinct and several times repeated detail of Barbour. Yet Lord Hailes has inadvertently assigned the centre to Douglas and the Stewart, and the left wing to Randolph; although quoting Barbour as his sole authority *. Barbour gives the centre division under Randolph the name of the *waward* or van: yet distinctly names the right and left wings, as drawn up one on each flank of this vanguard. And he expressly states that sufficient intervals were left between all these three bodies of the front line †. By one of the ancient English historians, the Scots leaders are said to have been all clad in light armour to admit of acting on foot with agility; yet of such strength as not to be easily penetrable by sword or spear. Besides being armed with lances, and with swords and daggers, each of the Scots soldiers had

* A. of S. II. 51.

† Barb. XI. 344.

A. D. 1314. 22 June.

a battle-axe slung at his side, fitted for hewing the massive armour of the English men-at-arms; and the whole were drawn up on foot, forming an impenetrable wedge, covered by their broad shields *.

The followers of the Scots camp, and the baggage of the army, were placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, and separated from the field of battle by a hill†. According to local tradition, this valley is to the west of a rising ground called the Gilles-hill, which, indeed, is the only place that coresponds with the account of Barbour.

According to Barbour, the Scots army remained in its original camp at the Torwood until intelligence arrived of the English army having marched from Edinburgh; probably to conceal the intended field of battle for some time, and to inspire false confidence in the English army, by the seeming irresolution and retreat of the Scots. On Saturday the 22d of June, the Scots army withdrew from the Torwood, and marched to the New Park between Bannockburn and St Ninians, where it was marshalled in the intended order of battle,

* Malmsb. 149. Thorkelow, 25.

† Barb. XI. 420—426.

that each individual might accurately know the station he was appointed to occupy. After this, the army encamped in the rear of the field of battle; and, in the course of that night, the pits formerly described for strengthening the Scots position, were constructed *. A. D. 1314. 22 June.

On the next day, being Sunday, the whole Scots army heard mass, and many made confession; and the king ordered proclamation to be made, that all who did not feel sufficient confidence in the event of the approaching combat were at liberty to retire from the army; but the whole of the troops answered, as with one accord, that they were resolved to conquer or die †. On this day the baggage and camp followers were sent off to the valley under cover of the Gilles-hill, as formerly mentioned ‡. On the same day, the king examined the pits which he had ordered to be dug; and, according to Barbour, they seem to have been placed at the extremity of either wing of the intended array: 23 June.

> " On aythir syd, rycht weill braid,
> It wes pittyt, as Ik haiff tauld."—§

* Barb. X. 352—372. † Id. ib. 374—409. ‡ Id. ib. 420.

§ Id. ib. 387, 388. The ground was pitted for a good breadth on either side, or each flank, as formerly mentioned.

A. D. 1314. 23 June.

When all these matters had been properly arranged, Douglas and Sir Robert Keith, the hereditary marshall of Scotland, were dispatched with an escort to reconnoitre the English army, which had rested all night at Falkirk, and was then in full march towards Stirling. Having, on their return, reported their observations on the vast number and warlike appointment of the enemy, they were directed by the king to give out through the army, that the English, though numerous, were ill-armed, and miserably marshalled, or very badly disciplined and arranged *.

As the English army drew near, Robert gave particular injunctions to his nephew Randolph, who commanded the van division, or centre of the Scots army, and which seems to have been somewhat in advance of the two wings, to be extremely vigilant in preventing any succours that might be detached from the main army of the English, from penetrating to Stirling castle †. It is probable that, if such succours could have been thrown in, the stipulations in the treaty of surrender would have been thereby abrogated; and the English army might have declined battle, if so in-

* Barb. XI. 454—485. † Id. ib. 440 - 444.

clined. According as the King of Scots had surmised, eight hundred horsemen, commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the van of the English army, by orders for that express purpose, and made a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St Ninians, on purpose to pass the front of the Scots army, on their way towards the castle. These had proceeded a considerable way unobserved by any one except the king, who came up hastily to Randolph, exclaiming angrily at his negligent conduct: A. D. 1314. 23 June.

"For the king had sayd him rudely
That a rose off hys chaplete
Was fallyn: for quhar * he wes set
To kep † the way thaise men war past."—‡

The phrase here used, a rose had fallen from the chaplet, implies, that the large bead in a rosary, used in numbering the stated prayers to distinguish a Pater-noster from an Ave-Maria, had been allowed to slip past unobserved, by which a person careless in his devotions had omitted a principal prayer. Hence

* Where. † Stop.

‡ Barbour, XI. 545—548.

A. D. 1314. 23 June.

it here means, that Randolph, while heedlessly performing his duty, had neglected attending to a very consequential charge which had been committed to his care and vigilance, as he had been especially appointed to guard that passage against the English *. From this circumstance Lord Hailes was disposed to believe that the command of the left wing of the Scots army had been confided to the command of Randolph; observing that this point is not clearly explained by Barbour. Yet no circumstance whatever, in the whole account of this important crisis, is more clearly expressed than this; for the command of the van is repeatedly ascribed to Randolph; and that van is as clearly mentioned as placed directly between the two wings, having the reserve immediately behind it, commanded by the king in person. It is highly probable that, at this period, and for the peculiar purpose now under consideration, this division commanded by Randolph may have been advanced towards the front, or perhaps only a considerable detachment from it, to watch the passage towards Stirling, with orders to retire into its appropriated place in the order of battle,

* A. of S. II. 51.

on the approach of the English army in full force. A. D. 1314. 23 June.

On receiving the sharp reproof from the king, for having negligently allowed the English detachment to pass, Randolph instantly made haste with a body of five hundred spearmen, to endeavour to repair his fault, or to perish in the attempt. As he advanced into the plain, Cliffords party wheeled about to attack him. Randolph drew up his small body so as to present a front on all sides, with their spears extended directly outwards, and exhorted his men to receive the charge of the English with steady resolution. The English horse, far superior in number, environed the brave band of Scots infantry, whom they assailed on every side with the utmost violence. At the first charge, Sir William Daynecourt, called De Amecot in Barbour, an English commander of distinguished valour, was unhorsed and slain *.

In his relation of this conflict, Lord Hailes considered the arrangement of the Scots under Randolph, for receiving the charge of the English cavalry, as having been in a circular form, or an orb, with the buts of their spears

* Barb. XI. 554—626.

A. D. 1314. 23 June. stuck fast in the ground, and their points obliquely projecting outwards on every side, as rays from a centre*; and quotes the following speech of Randolph, directing the order of their array, in proof of this opinion:

"Be not abaysyt † for thair schor ‡,
Bot set your speris yow befor,
And bak to bak for all your rout,
And all the speris thair poyntis owt.
Swa gate § us best defend may we,
Enweronyt || with thaim giff we be."—¶

As formerly noticed respecting the disposition of the Scots army by Wallace at the unfortunate battle of Falkirk, it may be again observed, that an orb, or circular order of battle, is the worst of all possible arrangements; as absolutely immoveable, or instantly and irretrievably disordered and broken by the smallest attempt to advance, retreat, or change ground in any manner of way. The order here ascribed to Randolph by Barbour distinctly applies to a close column, halted and faced right and left outwards; which is ad-

* A. of S. II. 52.

† Dismayed. ‡ Threatening aspect.

§ In this manner. || Environed.

¶ Barb. XI. 562—567.

mirably adapted for the firmest resistance against a charge of cavalry, and is easily susceptible of any change of place whatever, merely by facing to the intended direction of march, and moving onwards, without any hazard of confusion or disarrangement. A. D. 1314. 23 June.

While this seemingly unequal combat continued to rage, Douglas noticed the jeopardy of Randolph, and requested permission from the king to move with a reinforcement to his succour. "You shall not move from your post," said the king. "I will not alter my order of battle, and lose the advantage of my position. Let Randolph extricate himself as he best may."—"In truth," replied Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; and, with your leave, I *must* aid him." Robert unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the assistance of his friend *. On approaching nearer to the engagement, Douglas observed that the English began to waver, and were falling into disorder; the persevering valour, and steady order of Randolph and his party having finally prevailed over the impetuous, but rash and ill directed courage of

* Barb. XI. 630—655.

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the English. Douglas, therefore, ordered his men to halt, saying, " These brave men have repulsed the enemy ; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it *. At length, having lost a great number of men in the reiterated charges which they had made upon the Scots, who had always kept them off at spears length, the English assailants began to flag in their efforts from weariness. On this being noticed by Randolph, he ordered his troops to make a sudden and violent charge in their turn, and put the English to flight with great slaughter, while only one man is said to have been slain on his side. The remains of Cliffords discomfited party fled in disorder to the English army, utterly foiled in their endeavour to penetrate for the relief of Stirling castle ; while Randolph and Douglas returned to their respective stations in the Scots line of battle †.

Mean while the English army slowly advanced in order of battle towards the Scots position. When arrived very near, Edward gave orders for his army to halt, that he might take the opinion of his principal commanders whether it were better to advance immediately to battle, or to encamp for the

* Barb. XII. 125. † Id. XII. 154.

night, that the men and horses of his army might be refreshed after the fatigues of that days march *. But the English vanguard, probably the body of three thousand men on barbed steeds under the command of Gloucester, being unapprised of the order to halt, marched on in good array towards the Scots army, intending to commence the attack, as had been before agreed upon or understood.

A. D. 1314. 23 June.

At this period Robert was riding leisurely along the front of the Scots line, examining whether the whole was properly arrayed, giving out his orders and instructions to the several commanders with easy cheerfulness, and encouraging all by his looks and confident discourse to behave manfully in the approaching battle. He was meanly mounted on a small palfrey, having a battle-axe in his hand, and wore a hat ornamented by a coronet above his helmet, to make himself conspicuous to his own army †. Seeing the king thus occupied, and desirous of distinguishing himself, Sir Henry Bohun, an English knight, armed at all points, rode furiously towards him with his spear in rest, trusting easily to have unhorsed or slain the king. But Ro-

* Barb. XII. 388. † Id. ib. 18—24.

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bert calmly awaited his encounter, parried the thrust of the spear with his battle-axe, and raising himself in the stirrups, as Bohun passed in his rapid career, laid him dead at one blow, although the handle of the battle-axe broke with the violence of the stroke. On this, seeing the danger to which their sovereign had been exposed, and how gallantly he had acquitted himself, the Scots were greatly animated, and advanced with a great shout to his defence, expecting to receive the charge of the English vanguard. But they, astonished at the exploit which they had just witnessed, and observing that they were not seconded by their own army, retreated in some confusion to rejoin the main body. A small number of the English van, having fallen behind during the retreat, were overtaken and slain by the Scots *.

By one of the English writers, the person here slain by the King of Scots is named Pers Montford †. But no such name occurs in the list of the slain; whereas that of Henry de Bohun is there included, which is a strong proof of the accurate intelligence which Barbour had collected of the events of this reign ‡.

* Barb. XII. 29—74. † Leland. II. 546.
‡ A. of S. II. 53.

After this gallant exploit, the Scots leaders gathered round their king, affectionately reproving him for having thus rashly put his life in hazard, which might have occasioned the total destruction of his army, and the entire ruin of all their hopes of national independence. Conscious of his error, the king jocularly changed the discourse, by observing that he had broken his good battle-axe *. It would appear, from the arrangement of incidents in Barbour, that Randolph now returned to the main army, and gave Robert a report of his success in the action with Clifford. Addressing his discourse to the Lords and chieftains who surrounded him, the king observed, that they ought all to be thankful to God for the happy issue of those two affairs which had just occurred in their favour; which, although of no great importance in themselves, would yet be followed by very beneficial consequences; because the English army, seeing their vanguard constrained to retreat, and the chosen band which had been detached for the relief of Stirling castle, totally defeated by a greatly inferior force, would become much disheartened by those untoward incidents in

A. D. 1314. 23 June.

* Barbour, XII. 37—98.

A. D. 1314. 23 June. the commencement of their enterprize, by which they would be materially injured in the approaching battle ; as, when once the mind was subdued, there would be no great difficulty to overcome a dispirited and heartless body. Whereas, by the converse operation of the same circumstances, their own troops would be inspired with confidence in their own prowess, and contempt for an enemy already disgraced and half defeated *.

Robert next asked their opinion and advice, as trying their spirit and resolution, whether to remain and fight the English, or to retreat; and they all in one voice declared their determined wish to join battle on the morrow in their present position. The king then gave orders that the whole army should be armed and completely arrayed, in the order and on the ground already indicated, by day-break next morning. He strenuously exhorted and strictly enjoined, that the firmest possible order was to be preserved, and that the charge of the English should be received with levelled spears; no person on any pretence whatever being permitted to quit the ranks, as the whole fate of the approaching battle must de-

* Barb. XII. 171—190.

pend upon steady discipline, and united valour, not upon the ostentatious display of individual prowess, by which the firm array of the army would be necessarily endangered. He encouraged them to hope for victory, from the happy omen of the success which had already attended their arms; and as an incitement to gallantry, he set before them the bitter injuries which they and their country had suffered from the English, and the harsh treatment they must certainly expect if Edward were successful in the ensuing battle. He alleged that the Scots possessed three great advantages over their enemies in the present important conjuncture: *First*, their cause was good, and therefore Providence would favour the just cause: *Secondly*, if the Scots were victorious, the whole army would be enriched by the spoils of the English; who, trusting to their vast numbers, and counting upon certain victory and conquest, had brought vast riches along with them: *Thirdly*, that the English only fought for conquest, and despised the Scots army because so vastly inferior in numbers; whereas the Scots had to fight for every thing which man could hold dear and estimable; their lives, their families, their fortunes, liberties, and country; and warned

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them that they could expect no mercy if the English were victorious. He besought them, therefore, to receive the first onset with such strength, firmness, and resolution, that even the hindmost ranks of the English might feel the shock. He observed farther, that, if they behaved themselves manfully, honour, freedom, wealth, and immortal renown would be their rich reward; while the inevitable consequences of defeat must be disgrace, thraldom, poverty, and contempt; and that those who might be made prisoners might assuredly expect death, accompanied by every circumstance of vindictive cruelty and public ignominy; as had already been the hard fate of his brothers, and his other unfortunate associates, who had fallen under the power of the English in this war. He pointed out to them, that, although the English army far surpassed theirs in number, yet, from the nature of the ground on which they were to fight, that circumstance would be useless to their enemies, who could only attack them in front; and as the ground was narrow, the English would be necessarily thrown into confusion and disorder, so that even their numbers would be disadvantageous. He earnestly urged them not to allow the desire of wealth to influence their

conduct during the ensuing engagement, either in pillaging the slain or making prisoners, so long as their enemies might keep the field of battle; assuring them, if they followed his instructions, that they would assuredly acquire the victory. And, finally, he engaged his royal promise, that the heirs of all who had the misfortune to fall in the battle, should immediately receive their lands, free from wardship, relief, or tail*.

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A more animated example of spirit-stirring eloquence than this address of the immortal Bruce to his gallant army, immediately before the glorious day of Bannockburn, is no where to be found in history. Yet, aware of the custom of authors to fabricate eloquent speeches for their heroes, the substance only of the foregoing address is given, altogether on the authority of Barbour. It certainly breathes throughout so warm a spirit of patriot heroism, and such judicious ideas of the principles of warfare, and of the situations, views, objects, hopes, and fears of the parties about to join in deadly conflict, that we can hardly suspect the metrical version of it in Barbour of being a spurious fabrication: It may be

* Barb. XII. 121—327.

A. D. 1314. 23 June.

apparently relied on as a correct version of the real speech, as handed down by the tradition of a single lifetime; even the irregularity of the composition, and some evident repetitions, are favourable to this supposition.

The Scots leaders faithfully engaged to observe and perform all the orders and injunctions which their sovereign had now given, and the whole army was dismissed to their quarters, except the requisite guards, to prevent surprise. After having prepared themselves in all respects for the approaching battle, and partaken of necessary refreshment, the army again assembled in the evening, and lay all night in order of battle on the field*.

While these things were passing in the Scots army, the same circumstances which tended to confirm their hopes and to animate their courage, amazed and disheartened the minds of the common people in the army of their enemies. The English had witnessed the total defeat of the well appointed chosen band under Clifford, by a vastly inferior force of infantry commanded by Randolph; a species of troops then held in very low estima-

* Barb. XII. 334.

tion in comparison with cavalry: they had seen the repulse and disorderly retreat of their vanguard, the flower of their whole army; and their adventurous champion slain by the individual prowess of the King of Scots, whom they had been accustomed to hold in utter contempt. Considering these untoward circumstances as unfavourable omens of the fate of the approaching battle; in their conferences among themselves, the soldiers of the English army began to blame the conduct of their king and nobles, who had thus involved them so deeply in an enemys country, to fight for the purposes of ambition in which they felt no interest, and against such warlike foes, whom they had been taught to believe would not dare to look them in the face, but whom they now found had both manfully withstood and successfully fought against them, although vastly inferior in arms and numbers. As these murmurs among the troops reached the knowledge of the English leaders, heralds were sent throughout the camp to encourage the soldiers to behave with vigour and bravery in the approaching contest; assuring them of success against the Scots from the vastly superior strength and numbers of the English;

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and promising great rewards and ample spoil in the assured event of victory *.

In a council of war held by Edward while the two armies were facing each other, it had been resolved to delay the engagement till next day; because there was not sufficient remaining light, and because the army was fatigued by its recent march. Wherefore, the English army was drawn off from the immediate vicinity of the Scots position, into the karse or low grounds, to the right and rear of position which the army of Edward then occupied. They there remained during the night preparing for the battle, and were occupied in laying bridges of communication over the ditches and water courses, by which the low swampy grounds was every where intersected. For this purpose they demolished many houses in the neighbourhood; and it was reported that the English garrison of Stirling castle brought doors and windows during the night to the English camp, to assist in these operations †.

One English writer, Thomas de la More, edited by Cambden, says, that the English spent the night before the battle in more than

* Barb. XII. 367. † Id. ib. 391—397.

ordinary revelry and riotous mirth; *plus solito intonantes Wassail et Drinkail* *. From the expressions used, they seem to have indulged themselves over their cups in what may now be termed toasts and catches, or drinking songs. One Alexander Seton, a Scotsman who served in the English army, is said to have deserted during the night, and to have informed Robert that he might surely and easily defeat the English, if he joined battle early in the morning*. But this was obviously not a matter of choice with the Scots; who had assumed a position of defence in strong ground, and must await the assault of their enemies, or abandon all the advantages of their judiciously chosen position.

A. D. 1314. June.

* Cambd. Brit. 594. † Leland, Col. II. 547.

CHAPTER XII.

The Battle of Bannockburn, 24th June 1314.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. ON Monday the 24th of June, at break of day, both armies disposed themselves in order for the momentuous conflict, on the fate of which the glory, honour, and independence of Scotland was to depend. The van of the English army, composed of archers and lancemen, was placed under the command of Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester, and of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, constable of England. The ground was so contracted, that the rest of the English army had not sufficient space to extend itself into line of battle, and was therefore obliged to advance in order of march. To the Scots, as related by Barbour, who doubtless composed his minute account of this great battle from the information of some who had been present, the main

body of the English army seemed to compose one vast compact body or column: A. D. 1314.

> "——— Bot in a Scheltrum *,
> It semyt thai war all and sum †
> Owtane ‡ the awaward § anerly ||."—¶

Yet, in another passage, Barbour clearly describes the English host as divided into nine battles or great bodies **. These were independent of the van already mentioned; and agree with the formerly described marshalling of the whole army into ten distinct brigades or divisions of ten thousand men in each. We may therefore conclude that, owing to the narrowness of the ground, the other nine divisions, forming the main body of the English army, followed at some distance behind the van, in a close column, having very small intervals between each division.

Edward in person brought up this huge and unwieldy main body of his army, attended by a particular detachment of five hundred well armed horse as his body guards ††; hav-

* A compact column. † Altogether.
‡ Except. § Vanguard. || Alone.
¶ Barb. XII. 433—435. ** Id. ib. 537.
†† Id. XIII. 291.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. ing Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles de Argentyne, a foreign knight of great réputation in arms, stationed on either side as his especial defenders, or esquires of his body.

"Hys awne* battail ordanyt he,
And quha † suld at hys bridill be.
Schyr Gilis de Argenté he set
Upon a halff hys reyngye ‡ to kept;
And of Walence Schyr Aymery
On othyr halff, that wes worthy:
For in thair souerane bounté §
Owtowr the lave || affyit he."—¶

De la More, who endeavours on all occasions to place Edward in a contemptible light, asserts that he skulked in the rear division of the whole army, surrounded by bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and accompanied by that cowardly, rapacious minion, Hugh le Despencer**.

The order of battle of the Scots, as marshalled on the day preceding the battle, has been already described; and in that judiciously devised array they drew up at day-break. Mau-

* Own particular division. † Who. ‡ Rein.
§ Great prowess. || Beyond all the rest.
¶ Barb. XI. 172—179. ** Britan. 594.

rice abbot of Inchaffray, placing himself on an eminence where he could be seen by the whole Scots army, celebrated high mass, the most solemn and impressive ceremony of the catholic worship, which was then considered as absolving all faithful and penitent assistants from the whole burthen of their past sins. He then passed along the front of the army bare-footed, bearing a crucifix aloft in his hands, exhorting the Scots in few and forcible words to combat bravely for the rights and liberties of themselves and their country *. A. D. 1314. 24 June.

After these religious ceremonies, the Scots army partook of some refreshment; and the banners of the army being displayed, the king, according to the custom of the age, publicly conferred the honour of knighthood on the Steward, Douglas, and many others, in due order, according to their respective ranks. Immediately on the conclusion of this solemnity, the whole army advanced to the ground appointed for receiving the attack of the English; each party or division taking its allotted station in the line of battle, according to the order of array appointed on the preceding

* Ford. XII. xxi.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. day *. Besides the four grand divisions already particularly specified, there were two other and smaller divisions or corps belonging to the Scots army, the precise stations of which are no where pointed out, but which seem to have been posted in the rear of the front line, probably near the reserve. One of these, commanded by Sir Robert Keith, hereditary marshal of Scotland, consisted of five hundred well armed cavalry upon light active horses †. The other was a body of archers, the number and commander of which are not specified ‡.

When the King of England observed the exact order and firm array of the Scots army, all on foot, he seemed greatly astonished; and addressing his discourse to Sir Ingram Umfraville, exclaimed, " What! will yon Scotsmen fight?" To this Umfraville replied, that they seemed so resolved, and advised Edward, instead of an open attack, to draw off his army from the field, as if retreating, and to retire into the rear of his encampment; assuring him that the Scots army would then, in spite of their leaders, break their formidable

* Barbour, XII. 407—424. † Id. XIII. 55.
‡ Id. XIII. 76.

close array, and disperse to plunder the English camp; when the English army might speedily and safely return, and gain an easy and certain victory. Edward would not follow this advice, thinking it dishonourable to employ such a stratagem, considering the prodigious superiority of his own army, which he thought must ensure him certain success in fair battle*. During this conversation, the whole Scots army knelt down at a given signal, putting up a short but earnest ejaculation to heaven for safety and success, and receiving at the same time the benediction of the abbot of Inchaffray. On perceiving this singular movement, Edward cried out, "See! they yield, they kneel for mercy!"—"Yes, (said Umfraville,) you say right, they ask mercy; but it is from God, not from you." "Be it so then," replied the king; and immediately gave orders to sound the charge†.

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Upon the signal of battle being given, the English van galloped on to charge the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward Bruce, which received them with intrepid firmness ‡. By the advance of the English

* Barb. XII. 445—474. † Id. XII. 475—494.
‡ Id. ib. 495—530.

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* Barb. XII. 531—588. † Id. XIII. 1—24.

Exasperated by long animosity, and the remembrance of great mutual injuries, the battle raged along the whole line with the utmost fury. The English cavalry, by continually repeated and desperate charges, used every effort to penetrate, break through, and bear down the firm array of the Scots pikemen; by whom they were continually and effectually resisted with steady discipline and determined valour. In the mean while, the English archers, who seem to have been stationed towards the left of the English van, galled the right wing of the Scots with incessant flights of arrows. This being observed by Robert, and seeing that the whole English horse was now engaged with his front, he gave orders to Sir Robert Keith to make a circuit by the right extremity of the Scots line, with the chosen band of five hundred cavalry under his command; and, avoiding any encounter with the English horse, to make a furious assault upon the left flank of the hostile archers. This bold and judiciously timed manoeuvre was immediately and successfully accomplished. Keith and his troops fell with such irresistible impetuosity on the undefended archers, that they were instantly overthrown with great slaughter, and fled ulti-

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mately from the field in great disorder, probably towards the right and rear of their own army, and were never afterwards of any avail in the battle *.

Observing the derout of the English archers, those belonging to the Scots army, who were vastly inferior in numbers, and had not hitherto ventured to engage, now took courage, and advanced near enough to annoy the English cavalry, against whom they did great execution †. The marshal and his gallant Scots cavalry still continued to pursue and slay the broken English archers, who fell back among a second line of their own people, who could not find room to join in the battle, but who endeavoured to force the archers to rally; they were, however, so thoroughly intimidated by the execution already made among them by the Scots cavalry, that neither force nor persuasion could induce them to return to their post ‡.

At this period, there is every reason to suppose that the right wing of the Scots commanded by Edward Bruce, as having received the first brunt of the attack, and having suf-

* Barb. XIII. 47—75. † Id. ib. 76—88.
‡ Id. ib. 89—111.

fered considerably from the English archers, was much thinned in its ranks; though both that and the other two grand divisions of the front line still kept their ground, gallantly resisting every effort of the English. Robert now advanced with the reserve under his immediate command, with which he filled up all the vacancies which had occurred in the front, either from casualties during the battle, or from any change of ground or position which had occurred among the three grand divisions of the front line. But whether this movement was peculiarly to the rescue and assistance of the right wing, or if the king distributed his reserve so as to fill up other vacancies along the whole line, does not certainly appear: Barbour only informs us in a general manner, that, on seeing the rout of the English archers, and how manfully his three divisions of the front conducted themselves, the king was greatly pleased, and encouraged his soldiers to continue their gallant exertions, assuring them that they should soon gain a glorious victory; and then led up his reserve to join the front of battle *.

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* Barbour, XIII. 112—130.

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The battle still raged from wing to wing with the utmost fury on both sides; and, though not mentioned, we may be perfectly assured that the English front would continually receive succours and reinforcements from the vast multitude in their rear, who were unable, owing to the confined space in which the battle was fought, to get into the line. The excellence of the field of battle, chosen by Robert with so much judgment in reference to the number and nature of his own troops, as opposed to the vast superiority in numbers and peculiar forces of the English, appears distinctly from this circumstance, that all the efforts of the English were necessarily confined to the narrow front of the Scots; rendering the immense snperiority of cavalry and numbers in the English army altogether unavailing, as utterly unable to turn or outflank the Scots on either wing. Even the numbers of the English army were hurtful, in the confined space which they were constrained to occupy; as necessarily inducing confusion and disorder among their ranks, and leaving no room for any evolutions.

In this situation, the battle continued for some time dubious; neither side being able to gain any great or obvious advantage. The

English cavalry made repeated and redoubled, but unavailing efforts, to bear down and overwhelm the firm array of their antagonists; while the Scots exerted every nerve to oppose and repel the English, by steadily preserving their impenetrable front of portended spears in perfect order. Yet, though numbers of the assailants perished by the long spears of the Scots phalanx, and by the arrows of the Scots archers, who now discharged continual vollies with great effect; still the English front, continually reinforced and replaced by fresh combatants from the rear, continued their unavailing efforts to bear down the Scots*.

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In this critical and hitherto uncertain situation of the battle, but whether so instructed by the king, or from a voluntary effort of patriotism, does not certainly appear, the numerous attendants of the Scots army, who had been sent the evening before to a valley some distance from the field, having chosen leaders among themselves, drew up in martial order, some mounted on the baggage horses, and others on foot, with sheets fixed upon tent poles and spears instead of banners. Marching in this array from the valley in which

* Barb. XIII. 135—224. † A. of S. II. 55.

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they had been ordered to take shelter, they now displayed a long extended front on the top of a rising ground at some distance in the rear of the Scots army, and fully in sight of the whole of the English army; and, as they exceeded fifteen thousand men, they made a very formidable appearance. Here they set up a loud shout, calling out to the Scots army, "Slay! slay! On them hastily!" After which they began to descend the hill in good order, as if a fresh army advancing to attack the English*.

Lord Hailes considered this incident, which was decisive of the battle, as having proceeded from curiosity in the attendants of the Scots army, or from eager desire to participate in the plunder of the English†. But, from the regular marshalment and slowly prudent movements of this otherwise disorderly multitude, there can hardly be a doubt that it was a preconcerted stratagem, planned by the King of Scots, and executed under the direction of officers appointed by him, for the express purpose of drawing up and conducting this singular and useful body. Accordingly, it is expressly asserted in some copies of the

* Barb. XIII. 225—252. † A. of S. II. 55.

Scotichronicon, that this stratagem owed its contrivance to the king †. A. D. 1314.

However this may have been, it is certain that the appearance of this seemingly well arrayed and large reinforcement to the Scots, effectually and speedily decided the victory in their favour. Already wearied and disheartened by the length and obstinacy of the contest, on descrying this large body descending in good order from the hills with shouts towards the battle, and being convinced that they were a fresh army, as numerous as that against which they had already fought so long and to so little purpose; the English were dismayed and began to give way all along the line, though at first slowly. Observing this relaxation of effort, and perceiving the effects produced among the English by his archers, Robert encouraged his army to redouble its gallant exertions against their enemies; exclaiming, "On them! on them! They fail! they fail!" The whole Scots line now pressed onwards against the English with all their might; and at length constrained them to break their array into disjointed squadrons, many of which dispers-

24 June.

* Ford. XII. xxii.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. ed and fled; while others, ashamed of flight, endeavoured to rally and renew the battle. But the advantage of discipline, and of united numbers, once lost, could never be recovered. Every new effort on the part of the English became more feeble, and was repulsed by the Scots with great slaughter; who, still preserving their phalanx in close and firm array, pressed continually forwards *. In one of these attempts to rally the fugitives and renew the fight, the young and gallant Earl of Gloucester was unhorsed and slain †. Thomas de la More alleges, that the Scots would have saved this Earl, had they known him; but that he had neglected to wear the surcoat of his armorial bearings, by which he might have been recognized ‡.

On seeing his army give way, and the Scots slowly advancing with portended spears, Edward quitted the field, and rode towards Stirling castle. Some alleged, says Barbour, that when Pembroke saw the English giving ground, he seized the kings horse by the bridle, and constrained him unwillingly to

* Barbour, XIII. 205—224. and 265—281.

† Walsingh. 105. ‡ Britan. 594.

to quit the field. When informed of the purpose of Edward to retreat, Sir Giles de Argentyne exclaimed, that he was not wont to fly; and spurring on his courser, he rushed furiously on the division commanded by Edward Bruce, crying out, an Argentyne! an Argentyne! and soon met that honourable death which he preferred to flight. This gallant foreigner, who thus threw away his life on a punctilio of chivalric honour, in a quarrel where he had no interest, is said to have been reckoned the third best knight of his time; and had greatly signalized himself against the Saracens, having thrice fought and vanquished two Saracens at a time *.

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According to the vulgar opinion, the three most eminent warriors of that age were, Henry of Luxemburg emperor of Germany, Robert king of Scotland, and this Sir Giles de Argentyne; yet it was observed, "That it was no mighty exploit for one Christian knight to overcome and slay two Saracens †." He is thus mentioned in an old English author: "Giles de Argentyne, a stout warrior, and late cum from the werres of Henry Lus-

* Barb. XIII. 282—308. † Ford. XII. xvi. and xxii.

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semburg emperor, said that he was not wont to fly, and so returnit to the Englische host and was slayne *." Barton the Carmelite, who reluctantly sung the triumph of the Scots, whose defeat he had been brought to witness and celebrate, thus mentions him:

"Nobilis Argentin pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi,
Vix scieram mentem, cum te succumbere vidi †."

"The first of these lines celebrates the three chief requisites of a true knight; noble birth, valour, and courtesy. Few leonine verses can be produced that have so much sentiment. I wish I could have collected more ample memorials concerning a character altogether different from modern manners. Sir Giles de Argentyne was a hero of romance in real life ‡." Nothing farther is known respecting this celebrated knight, except that in the October of the preceding year, he appears to have been a prisoner at Salonica, having been captured by the subjects of the Greek empire, while on a voyage to Rhodes. At that time Edward made earnest application for his libe-

* Scala Chron. ap. Leland. II. 547.
† Ford. XII. xxii. 111, 112.
‡ A. of S. II. 56.

ration to Andronicus and Michael emperors of Constantinople, and to the empress: And as he is described as his faithful and well beloved Sir Giles de Argentyne, he may be supposed to have been a native of the transmarine dominions of Edward, and perhaps a knight of St John of Jerusalem, which order then resided at Rhodes *. A. D. 1314. 24 June.

From the time that King Edward quitted the field, his army no longer held together. Confounded, dismayed, and panic struck, the vast English army, sufficient under good conduct to have atchieved the intire conquest of Scotland, separated and fled in all directions before less than a third of their number. Many of them were drowned in attempting to escape across the river Forth †. The stream of Bannockburn, which has been illustrated by this signal battle, was so encumbered by the carcases of men and horses, as to become passible as on a bridge ‡. The discomfited English were so hemmed in between the close array of their triumphant foes and the difficultly practicable banks of the Bannock, that all

* Foed. Angl. III. 440. † Barb. XIII. 336

‡ Id. XIII. 340.

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who attempted to escape in that direction were slain, drowned, or taken prisoners. When the English were totally broken and driven off the field, the retainers of the Scots army who had so greatly contributed to produce the panic to which the victory was owing, now quitting their pretended warlike array, rushed in among the dispersed English, and easily put multitudes to death, who had thrown away their arms to falicitate their escape *.

In his flight, Edward passed beside the castle of Stirling, into which he was very desirous of being received for present safety. But Sir Philip Mowbray, the governor, judiciously remonstrated against this imprudent step; alleging that the castle would be again immediately besieged, and could not possibly hold out for any time; as it was not to be expected, after so very calamitous a defeat, that the English nation should hazard the loss of another army to attempt its relief. Edward, accordingly, passed from the castle by a place called the Round Table, skirting the castle-park in his flight, and took the road towards Linlithgow, in all haste, attended by a formidable escort of cavalry †.

* Barb. XIII. 341—344. † Id. ib. 377—381.

Sir James Douglas who was at the head of the left wing of the Scots, observing the rout of Edward, immediately collected a body of about sixty horsemen, and pursued the king of England with all possible expedition. While passing the Torwood, Douglas met Sir Lawrence Abernethy attended by twenty-four horsemen, who was hastening to join the English army, ignorant of its defeat. Being informed of the fate of the battle, Abernethy prudently abandoned the cause of the vanquished, and joined with Douglas to pursue the flying king. Edward halted first at Linlithgow; and, while taking some rest and refreshment, an alarm was given that the enemy approached, on which he again took to horse with his escort and fled. Douglas and Abernethy came up with the royal escort a little beyond Linlithgow, but were not in sufficient force to venture upon attacking the guard of five hundred men at arms which still held together. They followed hard upon the chase, however, always close up with the English rear, cutting off all that fell behind, and pressing always with such pertinacity, as not to leave time for even the most necessary stoppage*.

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* Barb. XIII. 603.

* Ita quidam ut ne vel mingendi locus hostibus concederetur. A. of S. II. 56.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. The Scots discontinued the pursuit at Tranent, their horses being no longer able to carry them in the rapid career; and Edward, pursuing his flight by Wenchborough, at length reached Dunbar, a distance of sixty miles from the field of battle. Into the castle of that place he was received by Patrick earl of March, who still adhered to his interests. From thence he went by sea, in a small boat to Bamburgh *. The author of the Scala Chron. says that he went from Dunbar to Berwick †.

Thomas de la More is pleased to ascribe the escape of Edward, on this occasion, not to the swiftness of his horse, but to the favour of the Mother of God, who rescued him from his enemies: in answer to a vow which he made to her and her Son, that, if he came off in safety, he should erect a superb mansion to her poor Carmelites, dedicated to her glory. And which, notwithstanding the dissuassions of Despenser, he afterwards erected at Oxford ‡.

Such of the English escort as had been received along with the king, into the castle of

* Barb. XIII. 609—616. † Leland, II. 547.

‡. Britan. II. 594.

Dunbar, left their horses to be seized by the Scots. A considerable number of them, however, that could not be admitted into the castle, continued their rout from Dunbar to Berwick, where they were received by the English garrison *. A. D. 1314. 24 June.

Many of the fugitives from the battle, took shelter in Stirling castle; and the rock, on which Stirling castle is situated, was clustered all over with them, like a swarm of bees. But being soon assailed by a part of the Scots army, and having no means of defence or sustenance, those who had sought refuge on the rocks were constrained to surrender at discretion †. Sir Maurice de Barclay escaped from the battle with a great body of Welshmen, who, having thrown off their upper garments previously to the battle, made a singular appearance in their flight through Scotland. Being unarmed and scattered through the country in their disorderly flight, the far greater part of them were slain or made prisoners by the country people, before they could reach the borders of England ‡. The earl of Hereford escaped from the battle with a considerable

* Barb. XIII. 625.

† Id. XIII, 427—434, and 449—455.

‡ Id. ib. 417—426.

A. D. 1314. 24 June. number of men, and took refuge in the castle of Bothwell, which still held out for the English, under the command of Sir Walter Gilbertson *.

After the complete derout of the English army, doubtful lest of so vast a multitude a sufficient number might rally and renew the battle against the dispersed Scots, Robert prudently retained the whole of that division of his army which was under his own immediate command, in regular order of battle on the field. To this circumstance Barbour attributes the escape of Edward †. But it is evident that no number of infantry whatever could have in any way conduced to his capture; and his escape was obviously occasioned by the want of a sufficiently numerous body of cavalry in the Scots army.

Such was the glorious event of the battle of Bannockburn, as it has always been named by the Scots from the small stream of that name which protected the right flank and rear of their army. By the English writers it has been called the battle of Stirling, or the battle of Bannock-moor ‡. Its circumstances

* Barb. XIII. 401—407. † Id. ib. 436—442.

‡ Walsingh. 105. Murimuth. 46. Leland, II. 456.

were glorious to the Scots arms; and its event was decisive to the establishment of the liberties of Scotland *. The Scots lost only two persons of any note; Sir William Vipont, or Waypont, and Sir Walter Ross, the favourite of Edward Bruce; who is said, though unused to lament for any man, to have expressed the deepest regret for his loss, saying that he would rather the victory had not been won, provided Ross were alive. † A. D. 1314. 24 June.

Barbour gives a singular trait in the private history of Edward Bruce, explanatory of his warm attachment to Sir Walter Ross. Edward had married the sister of David de Strathbolgie, earl of Athole, whom he slighted, and had engaged in a clandestine amour with the sister of Ross. Barbour adds that, not brooking this affront to his sister, Athole resolved to revenge the private wrongs of his family at the expence of the honour and independence of his native country; that, accordingly, when the two armies were about to engage, he assaulted the Kings head-quarters at the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, and slew the guard, with their commander Sir William Keith; and that he was afterwards

* A. of S. II. 57. † Barb. XIII. 470—481.

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banished into England; and all his lands were forfeited in punishment of his treasonable conduct*.

It is extremely difficult to form a right judgment upon this singular story. It is certain that the Earl of Athole returned in 1317 to the service of England. † And it is equally certain that sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him in 1323, in a parliament at Cambuskenneth‡. But it is strange that punishment should have been delayed until 1323, for an offence so attrocious, said to have been committed in 1314, nine years before. § It is likewise inexplicable how, after so flagrant a deed in 1314, Athole should have remained in Scotland until 1317. Besides, Cambuskenneth could not possibly be the head-quarters of Robert at the time of the battle of Bannockburn. The whole English army, the low grounds of the Carse, and the river of Forth, were all interposed between the station of the Scots army and that abbey. It is barely possible that Sir William Keith may have been stationed with a detachment in that place to secure the passage of the river against the English.

* Barb. XIII. 484—500. † Foed. Angl. III. 664.

‡ Chart. Dunferml. II. 24. § A. of S. II. 58.

On the side of the English, the loss in this battle was exceedingly great. In the continuation of Trivet, there is a list of some of the slain; and, from the specimen there preserved, it may be presumed, had the list been complete, that most of the ancient English families would find their ancestors among the slain or prisoners *. Of barons and bannerets, twenty-seven were slain, and twenty-two were taken prisoners. Forty-two knights were slain, and sixty were made prisoners †. Barbour says that nearly thirty thousand of the English were slain or drowned in the battle and pursuit, many of whom were men of rank; and that two hundred pairs of red, or gilt, spurs were taken from the heels of slain knights ‡.

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The most distinguished of the slain, was the Earl of Gloucester, whom Barbour names Sir Gilbert de Clare; for whose loss King Robert was much grieved, as he was his near kinsman §. It is reported by one of the English historians, that Gloucester, eager to lead the van at the first charge against the Scots right wing, rashly spurred forwards;

* A. of S. II. 58. † Trivet, Cont. 14. Walsingh. 103.

‡ Barbour, XIII. 397 and 463.

§ Id. ib. 465 and 408—411.

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and, not being properly seconded by his troops, he was immediately unhorsed and slain. Five hundred lances, or men-at-arms, are said to have composed his train, or to have served under his peculiar banner; any twenty of whom, by a spirited effort, might easily have rescued their lord; and the relater of his fate deliberately curses them for their cowardice*. Among the other distinguished men who fell in this great battle were, Sir Giles d'Argentyne already noticed; Robert Clifford; Payen Tibitot, whom Barbour names Payn Typonts; William le Mareshall; and Edmund de Mauley, the seneschal or high steward of England; and seven hundred esquires are reckoned among the number of the slain †. Lord Hailes was at a loss to determine the precise import of the term esquire, *scutifer*; and was dissatisfied with the explanation given by Spelman, "that it is the rank below a knight and above a gentleman," which he justly considered as of a modern cast ‡. An esquire, in the days of chivalry, seems to have been a young person who aspired to have the honour of knighthood; and for which his birth and

* Malmsb. 150. † Walsingh. 105.

‡ A. of S. II. 59.

possessions entitled him to become a candidate. The designation, scutifer, may either signify that he was accustomed to carry the shield of the knight to whom he had attached his probationary services; or that, during this term, his own shield was destitute of armorial bearings or cognisance. By the rigid rules of chivalry, a squire was debarred from using his weapons against knights, and was only allowed to employ his valour against his equals, or the meaner people; while a knight might legitimately cope in battle with a king.

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Among the crowd of prisoners were Roger de Northburgh, keeper of the English privy seal, with his clerks, Roger de Wikenfelde, and Thomas de Switon; and, with them, the privy seal itself fell into the hands of the captors, and was delivered to the King of Scots. To evince that he had no sinister purposes to serve, by retaining this prize, Robert restored it to Edward; on condition, however, that it should not be again used*. Robert might have deposited it in the treasury of his enfranchised kingdom as an honourable memorial of its restored freedom, with at least as much

* Trivet, Cont. 15, 16. Foed. Angl. III. 483.

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justice as the fragments of the great seal of Scotland had been placed in the treasury of England, in remembrance of the feudal subjugation of Scotland by Edward I.

The Scots army was greatly enriched by the spoil of the English camp, which abounded in gold and silver, rich arms, splendid apparel, and sumptuous furniture; and many of the victors obtained large sums for the ransom of their numerous noble prisoners*. The losses sustained by the English in this memorable battle are most feelingly deplored, by one of their almost contemporary writers, in the following strain of lamentation: "O! day of vengeance and misfortune, odious, accursed day, no longer to be remembered in the circle of the year; which tarnished the glory of England, despoiled our nation, and enriched the Scots to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds! How many illustrious nobles and valiant youths; what numbers of excellent horses and beautiful arms; how many precious vestments and golden vessels, were carried off in one cruel day †." The foregoing estimate of the pecuniary loss of the English, by the plunder of their camp and the

* A. of S. II. 60. † Malmsb. 152.

ransoms of their prisoners, at two hundred thousand pounds money of account of those days, amounts to six hundred thousand pounds of our present money in weight of silver; and probably exceeds three millions of effective value in the present day. One of the English historians says, that "all the spoil collected after this great victory was munificently divided by Robert among his troops, who had so gloriously triumphed in defence of their country; and that he treated the nobles and others, who were made prisoners, with so much courtesy and humanity, that he wonderfully changed the hearts of many of the English from enmity to admiration and esteem*." A. D. 1314. 24 June.

Some vestiges, or memorials, of the battle of Bannockburn still remain, preserved by tradition in the neighbourhood of the field of battle. In a garden at New-house, two large stones are still standing, which are said to have been erected in memory of the conflict

* Thorkelowe, 28.

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between Randolph and Clifford, on the evening before the decisive battle. From this circumstance, the place has lately received the name of Randolph-field. On Brocks-brae there remains a large stone, having a hole in its centre, called, on that account, the *bore-stane*, in which the royal standard of Scotland is said to have been planted. The Park-mill seems to have received its name from the New-park, or woody inclosure, mentioned by Barbour as the chosen field of array of the Scots army. About a mile from the field of battle, a party of the English army is said to have rallied and endeavoured to oppose the victorious Scots, leaving the name of *Bloody-field* to the place where they fell. Perhaps Sir Ingram de Umfraville may have left his name to a place in the neighbourhood, still called Ingrams-crook. Some persons in the neighbourhood at St Ninians still act as Cicerones to curious strangers, and pretend to point out the spots on which the various events of the battle occurred. The calthrops, or sharp pointed pieces of iron, which have been recently dug up in Milton-bog, have been already mentioned *.

* Stat. Ac. of Scotl. XVIII. 409.

CHAPTER XIII.

From the Battle of Bannockburn, 24th June 1314; to the Invasion of Ireland by the Scots, under Edward Bruce, 23d May 1315.

WHILE Robert was surveying the field early on the morning after the battle, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, whom Barbour names Twemyne, who had hidden himself all night among some bushes, surrendered himself personally to the king *. This person, and Ralph de Monthermer, were set at liberty without ransom †. In his whole conduct, after this signal victory, Robert displayed the greatest generosity and clemency; and even, by the acknowledgement of English contemporary A. D. 1314. 25 June.

* Barb. XIII. 516—530.

† Id. ib. 534. A. of S. II. 60.

A. D. 1314. 25 June. writers, through his humane and courteous attentions to his captives he won their affections, and shewed the English how they might have improven their victories.*

The body of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, being found on the field, was carried reverendly to a church, where it was solemnly watched according to the custom of these times, not yet altogether forgotten in Scotland †. His body, and that of the Lord Clifford, were transmitted to England with all the honours due to their rank and valour ‡. A singular incident is related respecting the succession to the Earl of Gloucester. Leaving no issue, the presumable pregnancy of his widow is said to have been waited for during two years; *per biennale tempus* §. Lord Hailes observes that a learned friend had suggested, that *brumale* ought to be read for *biennale;* by which the sense would be, that her pregnancy was waited for until the end of winter. ‖ The word is certainly corrupted; but a more obvious correction is to substitute *hiemale,* which might easily have been mistaken in

* Walsingh. 106. † Barb. XIII. 512.

‡ Triv. Cont. 16. § Walsingh. 106.

‖ A. of S. II. 60.

hasty transcription for *biennale;* and which equally reduces the period of suspense to the end of winter, which was certainly giving full latitude. Jurists have been disposed to allow twelve months gestation to a disconsolate widow; considering that her grief might retard the natural developement of the fetus. Other ancient authors give rather a different account of this singular circumstance. Trokelowe expressly says that an heir was waited for during two years. Malmsbury, that the delivery was waited for during more than a year; although a child which was born above eleven months after the death of the husband was reputed spurious*.

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On the day after the battle, Mowbray, the governor of Stirling-castle, fulfilled the conditions of agreement which he had entered into in the preceding year with Edward Bruce, by surrendering that fortress. He now likewise entered into the service of the King of Scots, to whom he remained ever afterwards faithful †. It is not mentioned whether this castle was ordered to be dismantled, as had been

* Joh. Trokelowe, An. Ed. II. 27. M. Malmsb. Vit. Ed. II. 159.

† Barb. XIII. 540 - -546.

A. D. 1314. 25 June. done with all the others which had yielded to the Scots arms; but Berwick, which had not yet been recovered, seems to have formed almost the sole exception to that general rule: Dunbarton, and some castles in the north, seem likewise to have been preserved.

In the train which followed Edward II. to Bannockburn, was one Baston, a Carmelite friar, esteemed the best Latin poet then in England, who had been brought there to be a spectator of the battle, that he might record the expected triumph of the English arms. He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner; and, for his appropriate ransom, was enjoined to employ his reluctant muse in celebrating the *Victory of the Scots at Bannockburn* *. In the opinion of Fordun, "the composition of this poem was excellent, and ought not be hid under a bushel, but should be set upon a candlestick, for the admiration of posterity†." The structure of the rhyming versification in which it is composed is singularly gingling, intricate, and aliterative, and was probably of very difficult contrivance and execution. It must have occasioned infinite labour to the unfortunate poet; who probably had a large

* Ford. XII. xxii. † Id. ib.

portion of the general description of the circumstances of the battle ready composed when made prisoner; only requiring a few retouches to fit it for the unexpected event which he was compelled to celebrate. A. D. 1314. 25 June.

From the battle of Bannockburn, the Earl of Hereford had retreated to the castle of Bothwell, which was still held by an English garrison commanded by Sir Walter Gilbertson. That place was soon afterwards besieged by Edward Bruce; and being unprovided with provisions for the great number of people who had taken shelter there along with Hereford, was soon obliged to surrender. The Earl of Hereford was exchanged for the consort sister and daughter of the King of Scots, for the faithful Robert Wisheart, bishop of Glasgow, and for the young Earl of Marre, the kings nephew*. John de Segrave, who had been made prisoner at Bannockburn, was exchanged for Thomas de Moraire, perhaps Moreham, David de Lindesay, Andrew Moray, Reginald de Lindesay, and Alexander his brother†. In these exchanges, the English court seems to have been extremely liberal,

* Barb. XIII. 669—687. Triv. Cont. 16. Foed. Angl. 496.

† Foed. Angl. III. 501.

A. D. 1314. in giving up so many important Scots prisoners for two persons only. It is to be regretted that the heroic countess of Buchan does not appear to have been then restored to liberty and her country. Perhaps, by this time, she had sunk under the singular hardships of her long durance. She certainly was alive, however, on the 28th April of the preceding year; as we have an order of that date for transferring her, from her peculiarly severe confinement in Berwick castle, to the custody of Henry de Bellmont*.

According to Barbour, some time after the victory of Bannockburn, and by the advice of his privy-council, the King of Scots issued a proclamation; by which all who had any claim to lands in Scotland were required to appear before his courts within twelve months, to exhibit their titles, and to do homage for the same; otherwise, declaring that all lands not so reclaimed should be forfeited to the crown †. This exertion of royal authority was perfectly usual and lawful; and was now particularly necessary, both to reclaim such Scotsmen as still remained in the English interest, and to place the titles of lands

* Foed. Angl. III. 401. † Barb. XIII. 721—731.

holden of the crown upon a clear footing; as A. D. 1314.
in Scotland every individual possessor of such lands must be infefted, or receive livery, consequent upon an especial royal charter: And during the long troubles of Scotland, from 1286 downwards, it is certainly to be presumed that much confusion, uncertainty, and deficiency, had occurred in the title deeds of many estates. Besides, this measure was a perfectly legitimate source of revenue to the crown; as all renewals were taxed to certain regulated payments, on passing the new charters. Yet, upon this regular act of necessary authority, Boece has constructed a most improbable and ill connected tale, which he has interwoven into his relation of a conspiracy against Robert; to be noticed afterwards in recording the events of the year 1320.

Taking advantage of the wide spread dismay which the fatal overthrow of Bannockburn had produced throughout the English nation, a Scots army, under the joint command of Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas, entered England by the eastern marches, which wasted Northumberland, and imposed heavy contributions on the bishopric of Durham. Having penetrated to Richmond in York-

A. D. 1314. shire, the invaders, who seem to have been altogether unopposed, turned westward, burning Appleby, and many other towns, and returned to Scotland loaded with spoil. The English are said to have been so much crest fallen and panic struck, by their late terrible defeat, that an hundred of them would have fled from two or three armed Scotsmen. Many, even of the inhabitants of Northumberland are reported to have revolted to the Scots, on this occasion, and to have aided them in committing depredations on their own country *.

It may here be observed, that there were several clans on both sides of the borders, then and long afterwards, who considered themselves as mere soldiers of fortune, or freebooters; bound by no ties of homage or natural attachment; and who were ever ready to change sides as circumstances appeared most favourable for their only habits of industry, plunder. Even when the two kingdoms were in profound peace, these borderers could hardly ever be prevented from waging a predatory war; and they often exchanged the colour of their pretended allegiance, as seemed best suit-

* Chron. Lannerc. ap. Tyrrel, III. 262. Walsingh. 106.

ed to the time. Unconnected, or very loosely A. D. 1314.
so, with the baronial proprietors, who winked at their enormities, to ensure their service upon occasion, they were often called broken clans; because they had infringed the bonds or sureties of peaceable behaviour exacted from their leaders, and were then considered as outlaws. Even after the union of the two crowns, under James VI. it was extremely difficult to reduce these contending subjects of the same king to peace, order, and industrious habits, so long had they been enured to subsist by rapine; and several of these refractory clans had to be expatriated, before the reign of the law could be established on the borders. Perhaps the conduct of some of these clans may have given occasion to the foregoing report, that many of the Northumbrians had joined the Scots invaders of England.

In mentioning this inroad into the north of England, Barbour seems to express himself as if the king in person had commanded the invading army. But, as no deeds of chivalry were performed, he chuses to be very brief on the occasion. Adding, however, that Robert frequently made such inroads into England, purposely to enrich his own sub-

A. D. 1314. jects, at the expence of their enemies; and that the Scots then abounded in riches *.

At this period, the King of England summoned a parliament to convene at York, for the express purpose of concerting measures to protect his kingdom against the Scots; but apparently without being able to effectuate his intentions †. About the same time he ap-
10 Aug. pointed the earl of Pembroke, who had formerly been guardian of Scotland, to act as warden or lieutenant of England to the north of Trent, peculiarly with the view that he might endeavour to repress the incursions of the Scots ‡. Thus reduced, from the proud hopes of making an entire conquest of Scotland, to the humiliating necessity of employing unusual precautions to defend his own kingdom from invasion.

18 Sept. In this season of triumph and prosperity in his affairs, and while the English nation was in the utmost dejection after their dreadful overthrow, Robert made advances towards peace with England. By Ralph Chilton, a friar, he dispatched a letter to Edward, declaring that his most anxious wish was to

* Barb. XIII. 732—744. † Foed. Angl. III. 491.

‡ Id. ib 493

have a secure peace, and lasting concord established between the two nations, on a permanent and equitable basis; and, desiring for this purpose, that a passport might be granted for commissioners on his part, to repair into England, who might negociate with other commissioners on the part of Edward, towards the attainment of this desirable object. Edward granted the required passport, and appointed commissioners to negociate with those of the Scots *. The commissioners appointed by Robert on this occasion were, Sir Nigel Campbell, Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, Sir Robert Keith, and Sir Gilbert Hay. But these pacific overtures produced no salutary consequenses. The English court was not yet sufficiently humbled by the ill fortune of their arms, to resign the wild notion of feudal supremacy over Scotland; and the Scots were too prosperous to listen to any terms in which the imperial independance of their crown and country, were not explicitly recognized †.

A. D. 1314. 18 Sept. — 7. Oct.

Using the opportunity of advantage which the superiority of his arms had acquired over the English, and which was considerably increased by a renewal of the factious dissen-

9. Oct.

* Foed. Angl. III. 495—497. † A. of S. II. 61.

A. D. 1314. Oct. tions in England, Robert again sent an army to invade and lay waste the north of England. Still meeting with no resistance in the field, the Scots levied contributions in various places, and retired to their own country undisturbed and loaded with spoil; and they continued at intervals, during the winter 1314—1315, to threaten and infest the English borders. In one of these incursions, the Scots invaded England by Redesdale and Tindale, driving away all the cattle, burning the towns, and despoiling the inhabitants, without meeting any resistance. From thence they went to Gillesland in Cumberland, where they compelled the people to swear allegiance, and pay tribute to the King of Scots. In the space of six months, the county of Cumberland alone paid six hundred merks for its share in the exactions *. There must surely be some inaccuracy in the transcript of this passage from the Chronicle of Lannercost, as the six hundred merks, here mentioned as a large sum, would not be any great burden upon Cumberland; perhaps it ought to have been six thousand merks, probably then equal in efficacy to sixty thousand pounds of modern money.

* Chron. Lannerc. ap. Tyrr. III. 262.

At this period the parliament of England was assembled. But the leading nobles were so much distracted by party animosities, and so involved in dissention with the king and his unworthy minions, that no efficient measures could be agreed upon for protecting the northern counties against the ravages of the Scots. Tyrrel expresses astonishment that these ravages should have been continued during the sitting of parliament, as if their edicts could have repelled the enemy. He did not consider that for this purpose, instead of wasting their time and strength in faction, the members ought to have been in the field at the head of their military retainers*. A. D. 1314. Oct.

On various occasions, Scotland was preserved from becoming a prey to the crown of England, by political dissentions among the English nobles, or by an over-grasping ambition in the English government. Nothing could have saved Scotland from sinking irrecoverably under the power of the first Edward, but his inordinate ambition to make conquests in France. And the recovery of its independance under the guidance of Robert, was greatly owing to the perpetual dissen-

* Tyrr. III. 262. A. of S. II. 62.

A. D. 1314. Oct. tions between the second Edward and his great barons. It must have submitted afterwards during the reign of David II. to the vast superiority of English power and resources, had not Edward III. and his heroic son the Black Prince, directed their whole attention and resources to the wild scheme of subduing France. In latter times, the destructive contests of the two roses, long preserved Scotland from being overwhelmed by England; and, by almost extirpating the numerous royal family of England during the protracted civil wars, at length opened the succession of the English throne, by peaceful heritage, to the royal family of Scotland.

'ct. 10. Fresh overtures were made for a truce between Scotland and England about this time, as a licence or safe conduct was granted by Edward, on the 10th October, for six persons, with a reasonable number of attendants, to come from Scotland into England, for that purpose *.

Sometime towards the close of 1314, the weak and unfortunate John Balliol, who for a short disastrous period, had wielded the degraded, and then subordinate sceptre of Scotland,

* Foed. Angl. III. 499.

died after a long inglorious exile, at his ancient patrimonial inheritance of Bailleul in France*. He is one of a very few sovereigns, who have been permitted to await the ordinance of nature, after having been precipitated from the throne. He left a son, Edward, the heir of his pretensions and misfortunes; who, during a transitory season, enjoyed the semblance of being king in Scotland, and afterwards died in a private station and advanced age, in England. A. D. 1314. 10 Oct.

Early in 1315, the Scots again invaded England. In this inroad, they penetrated to the bishopric of Durham, and plundered Hartlepool. Still exasperated against their sovereign for his weak attachment to his unworthy favourites, the English barons declined attending a parliament which was summoned for the purpose of granting supplies for the Scots war; and Edward was unable to gather an army sufficient to repress the frequent inroads of the Scots †. Edward had recently much offended his nobles, by a weak display of his inordinate affection for Gaveston, whom they had murdered not long before; and whose body he had caused to be raised 1315 Jan.

* Foed. Angl. III. 566. † Id. ib. 511.

A. D. 1314. January. and re-interred with great funeral pomp; and they naturally considered this as an indication that he meant to use the first favourable opportunity to avenge his death upon his mortal enemies *.

This year, 1315, was remarkable for the establishment of an act of settlement regulating the succession to the crown of Scotland, of which the following is an abstract †.

26 April. At Air on Sunday the 26th April 1315, in a parliament consisting of the bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, and other prelates of churches, the earls, barons, knights, and others of the community of the kingdom of Scotland, as well clergy as laity, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and enacted as law.

I. They all and singular ‡ became bound to continue faithful, and to bear true allegiance to Robert King of Scots, and to the heirs male to be lawfully procreated of his body,

* A. of S. II. 63. † Ford. XII. xxiv. Anderson, Indep. of Scotl. No. 24.

‡ A Scots law phrase still used to signify each individually, and all conjunctly.

and that against all men, of whatsoever power, or rank, or dignity. A. D. 1314. 26 April.

II. With the consent of the king, and of his daughter and apparent heir Marjory, they ordained, in case the king should die without leaving heirs male of his body, that his brother Edward, as a man of tried valour, and much practised in war in defence of the rights and liberties of Scotland, should succeed to the kingdom; and failing him, the heirs male to be lawfully procreated of his body.

III. With the consent of the king, and of his brother Edward Bruce, it was provided, failing Edward and the heirs male of his body, that Marjory, and, failing her, the nearest heir lineally descended of the body of King Robert, should succeed to the crown; but under condition that Marjory should marry with the consent of her father; or, after his death, with the consent of the majority of the estates of Scotland.

IV. Should the king or his brother die during the minority of the heir male of their bodies succeeding to the crown, it was ordained, that Thomas Randolph earl of Moray should be the guardian of the heir

A. D. 1314. 26 April.

and of the kingdom, until the major part of the estates might consider the heir as fit to administer the government in his own person.

V. Should Marjory die in widowhood, leaving an heir under age, succeeding to the crown, the earl of Moray was ordained to be guardian of the heir and the kingdom, if he chose to except the office.

VI. Should Marjory die, and there remained no heir of the body of King Robert, the earl of Moray was to be guardian of the kingdom, if he chose to accept the office, until the prelates, earls, barons, and others of the community of Scotland, might be conveniently assembled to consider and determine upon the rightful succession to the crown.

VII. The whole parties submitted, for themselves and their successors, to the jurisdiction of the bishops and prelates of Scotland, that they might be compelled to observe and fulfil the premises.

Some observations on this act of settlement may be here proper. From the preamble, it is obvious that some delegation or represen-

tation existed at this time in the Scots parliament, both clerical and laical; but the nature of this does not appear. The personal attendance of the dignitaries of the church seems to have been very numerous; yet it is difficult to divine who might be described as the other prelates of churches, after enumerating bishops, abbots, priors, deans, and archdeacons. A. D. 1315. 26 April

In his notes on Buchanan, the learned Ruddiman commits a very material error respecting the date of this act of settlement. In the record it is expressly dated on the Sunday immediately before the festival of the apostles Philip and James; which clearly fixes the date of its enactment to the 26th April. Whereas, by supposing the feast of St James the less to be intended, Ruddiman carries forward the date into the month of July; which would throw the series of events in this part of the history of Scotland into confusion, by supposing the enactment to have been made in the presence, and with the assent of Edward Bruce, when he was actually engaged in his Irish expedition *.

* A. of S. II. 63.

A. D. 1315. 26 April

In the first article, Marjory is incorrectly termed the apparent heir of Robert. She was then indeed his only child, but ought to have been called his presumptive heir*. Perhaps those rigid distinctions of legal language were not then establised. Barbour calls her the apparent heir †.

It does not seem necessary to report the silly arguments of Abercrombie, respecting the rights of Edward Bruce in preference to his niece Marjory. The object of Robert and the estates, was to provide an act of settlement, then wanting in the law of Scotland; and, owing to which deficiency on a former occasion, Scotland had suffered a long series of cruel injuries, and had nearly been reduced to perpetual subjection. From the principles of the act of settlement on Margaret of Norway, there can be no doubt of the preferable right of Marjory to her uncle, until the enactment of the special settlement now under review. The preference shewn to Edward Bruce on this occasion, by the express consent of Robert and Marjory, obviously proceeded from a laudable and patriotic motive, that a competent defender might be provided for

* A. of S. 64. † Barb. XIII. 260.

the rights and liberties of Scotland in the person of his gallant brother, in the event of the death of Robert without male issue. A. D. 1314. 26 April.

In the third article, by which the heirs whomsoever, male or female, of the bodies of Robert and of his daughter are preferred, and with the consent of Edward, it was carefully provided that he might have no colour for pretending that the right of succession should devolve upon his issue at large, if he came into possession of the throne. The preference now given to him over the native and undeniable right of his niece, or of any other female issue of his brother, was only in reference to the necessities of the country at the time; that it might be governed by a male while contending for its independent existence; and that it might not be again liable to the danger of being overwhelmed and absorbed by the arts and arms of England, through a marriage of the apparent heir of that kingdom with the heiress of Scotland.

In the same clause, the earliest example of a royal marriage act is given; in which the eventual succession of Marjory, and consequently of the heirs of her body, was made to depend upon her marrying with the consent

A. D. 1314. 26 April.

of her father, or of the majority of the estates, in case of his demise.

In the fifth clause, where provision is made for the guardianship of the infant heir of Marjory, if that princess should die in widowhood, the statute does not determine who should be the guardian in the event of her dying before her husband. This possible contingency must have been foreseen; but it might appear too delicate a subject for discussion by the estates: yet the neglect might have occasioned a fatal controversy between the estates and the surviving husband of Marjory *. The absence of any provision for this possible contingency, seems to imply, that the estates considered the father of the heir to the crown as the natural and legal guardian.

In the sixth clause, the estates seem to have declined to come under any obligation to the female issue of Edward Bruce. The series of heirs to the throne, as established by this act of settlement, were, 1st, The male issue of Robert. 2d, Edward Bruce and his male issue. 3d, Marjory, or other female issue of Robert, and the male or female issue of their bodies; the males of each particular genera-

* A. of S. II. 67.

tion always excluding the females. But it does not appear whether the female issue of Edward Bruce was considered as occupying the fourth place in substitution; or, if so, what description of heir was to succeed on their extinction. A. D. 1315. 26 April.

On the last clause, subjecting all parties to the jurisdiction of the bishops and prelates, to compel the observance of this act of settlement, it may be observed, that this must be understood as granting that extraordinary power to a provincial council, or national synod of the Scots clergy, and not as conferring any right of spiritual censure on the individual dignitaries *.

Thomas Randolph appears in this parliament as Earl of Moray; but the precise date of the grant to him of that earldom cannot now be ascertained †. Sir James Balfour, lion king at arms, supposed it to have been made in the seventh year of King Robert ‡. If so, he must have received this well merited dignity from his royal uncle in 1313; which coincides with the account of this matter already given from Barbour in this work.

* A. of S. II. 67. † Id. ib.

‡ M. S. Col. in Adv. Lib. Ess. on Brit. Ant. § 103—109.

A. D. 1315. Soon after the establishment of this act of settlement, the King of Scots bestowed his daughter in marriage on Walter, the hereditary lord high stewart of Scotland*. On this occasion, the following lands were granted to the stewart, as the dowry or marriage portion of his royal bride. The barony of Bathgate, the lands of Ricardtown, the barony of Rathew or Ratho, the lands of Birnys near Linlithgow, the lands called the Brome near Linlithgow loch, the lands of Bondington, with the lands of Erygaith, near Linlithgow, the lands of Gallowhille near Linlithgow, an annual rent out of the Carse of Stirling, an annual rent of 100s. from the lands of Kinpunt, and the lands of Edinhame in the shire of Roxburgh †. From this marriage, the inheritance of the Scots crown, and afterwards that of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, has continued to descend.

July. In the course of this year, the Scots again invaded England, and made an ineffectual attempt to gain possession of Carlisle; from before which place they were repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants, unaided by any mi-

* Ford. XII. xxv. Crawf. Hist. of the Ho. of Stew. 14.

† Robertsons Index, p. 9. No. 11.

litary exertions on the part of their weak sovereign and his factious nobles *. About the same time an attempt was made to carry Berwick by surprise, but the enterprise failed †. No particulars remain on record of either of those enterprises. A. D. 1315.

At this period a dreadful scarcity and dearth of provisions, amounting to absolute famine, prevailed both in England and Scotland; the consequence of a long continued series of wet and ungenial weather, aggravated by the ravages of war. Through the prevalence of almost continual rain during the harvest of 1314, the grain crops were excessively injured, and were collected with great difficulty and much loss into the rick yards and barns. And the rains set in so early in 1315, and continued so long and violently, that most of the seed of that year perished in the ground; besides which, the meadows were so long inundated that the hay crop of that year was almost utterly destroyed ‡. The dearth began in May 1315, and continued with increasing severity until September, when the scanty produce of the new crop appears to have occasi-

* Chron. Lannerc. ap. Tyrr. III. 264.

† A. of S. II. 63. ‡ Malmsb. 161.

A. D. 1315. oned a temporary alleviation of the miseries of the people. But it recurred again with renovated horrors before the close of that year, and seems to have proceeded to the utmost extremity of famine until after the harvest of 1316. The quarter of wheat, beans, and pease, was sold in 1315 for 20s. equal to L.15 of our modern currency. In July 1316, wheat rose to 30s. equal to L.22. 10s.; and in August reached the enormous price of 40s. or L.30 the quarter. A loaf of coarse bread, which was scarcely sufficient to support a man for one day, sold for 4d. equal in efficacy to 5s. Owing to a rigid prohibition of all transmission of supplies from England into Scotland, enforced by a rigid blockade of the Scots ports by several English squadrons, the quarter of wheat is said at one time to have risen to the enormous price of 100s. equal to L.75 the quarter in modern estimation*. But Scotland was then less dependant than England upon the grain crop, as it always abounded in cattle and pasturage.

Under the terrible pressure of this famine, the flesh of horses and dogs was greedily sought after by the famished multitude.

* Thorkelowe, 35.

Thieves, in prison, are said to have devoured their newly committed associates; and many persons are reported to have slaughtered their own offspring, or to have stolen and murdered the children of others, for their temporary supply *. The dearth seems to have continued, but with mitigated severity, until after the harvest of 1317. But great abundance returned in 1318. Malmsbury, who estimates the prices by a ridiculous employment of classical terms, says that the *modius* of wheat, which had risen to 40 *denarii* during the famine, and even to 100 denarii at London, was reduced to 6 denarii in 1318 †. Perhaps he meant, that the quarter, which had risen to 40s, fell back to 6s. These extremes are equivalent to L.30, and L.4. 10s. of our modern money; and agree with the preceding estimates from Thorkelowe. The famine naturally occasioned a prodigious mortality among the people, owing to the want of proper food, and the employment of unwholesome substitutes; in so much that the survivors are said to have hardly sufficed to bury the dead ‡. A. D. 1315.

* Thorkelowe, 35. † Malmsb. 166.

‡ Thorkelowe, 35.

A. D. 1315.

During the famine, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the English government to establish a maximum of prices; but which had the opposite tendency, and was necessarily abandoned. A curious record of some of those compulsatory prices remains *. A stalled or corn-fed ox was ordered to be sold for not more than 24s. equal to L. 18 of our modern money. A fat sheep, having a full grown fleece, for 20d. or 25s. A fat hog for 3s. 4d. or L. 3. A fat capon, 2d. or 2s. 6d. A hen 1d, or 1s. 3d. Pigeons, 3d. a dozen, or 3s. 9d. Eggs, ½d. a dozen, or 7½d.

It may be proper to mention, in this place, the ancient prices of provisions in Scotland, during the peaceful reign of Alexander III. thirty to fifty years before the period now under review; and which may be considered as those of a time of great cheapness and abundance. In these prices, the Scots boll for oats and barley of six bushels, and of four bushels for wheat, are here reduced to Winchester quarters; and the ancient prices are compared with the modern currency, according to the proportion already mentioned, of fifteen pounds or shillings at the commencement of

* Lel. Col. VI. 36.

the nineteenth century, for one of the fourteenth. A quarter of oats then sold for 5⅔d. or 7s. 1d. A quarter of barley, or rather big, for 12d. equal to 15s. A quarter of wheat for 2s. 8d. equal to 40s; and was reckoned dear at 3s. 4d. equal to 50s. of modern money of account *. A. D. 1315

* Wyntown, Oryg. Cron. VII. x. 519—524.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Kerr, Robert

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